BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA LITERARIA.

ANGLO-NORMAN PERIOD.

BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA LITERARIA;

OR

Biography of Literary Characters

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

ARRANGED

IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

Vol 2

ANGLO-NORMAN PERIOD.

BY

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BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA LITERARIA;

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Biography of Literary Characters

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE was founded by Royal Charter, granted in the year 1825 by His Majesty King George IV., for the purpose of promoting Literature in its more important branches, with a special attention to the improvement of the English Language.

The plan proposed for effecting this object, included—1. The reading at the Society's meetings and the publication in its Transactions, of papers on History, Philosophy, Poetry, Philology, and the Fine Arts :—2. The adjudication of honorary rewards for works of great literary merit, and for important discoveries in literature :—3. The publication of inedited remains of ancient literature, and of such works as may be of great intrinsic value, but not of that popular character which readily commands the attention of publishers.

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In the third department of its operations, the Society has likewise been hitherto restrained by the limited extent of its funds. It has nevertheless continued, in a second volume of sixty folio plates, the publication of hieroglyphics, begun by the Egyptian Society, under the editorship of the late learned Dr. Thomas Young. The liberality of

some of its members has further enabled the Council to engage in the present undertaking; and they have lately become entitled, in aid of this department of their labours, to the sum of 5,000*l.*, bequeathed to the Society by the late Rev. Dr. George Richards, one of its original promoters and most zealous friends.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE literary history of the Anglo-Norman period is, on the whole, less in need of an Introductory Essay than that of the Anglo-Saxons, for it not only includes a much shorter space of time, and is of a less varied character, but a smaller proportion of its writings are anonymous, so that it is tolerably complete in the description of the works of each successive author. Very little of the popular literature of this period has come down to us; and it is probable that it was not very extensive, or, at least, that the larger portion was never committed to writing. It was an age of oppression and violence, during which the greater part of the population of England was reduced to a state of extreme misery and ignorance. We have seen, in the former volume of the present work, how, towards the latter end of the Saxon period, learning, that is, the study of Latin literature, was sinking into neglect in this island, and how knowledge of every kind was then spreading abroad in works written only in the Anglo-Saxon tongue. The use of this latter language, in writing, was almost abolished after the invasion of the Normans. It was only preserved in the continuation for a time of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and in some productions, mostly of a religious or moral character, for which we are probably indebted to the few Anglo-Saxon monks who were permitted to retain their places in our monasteries. Towards the end of this period, the native literature begins again to make its appearance. At this time the Anglo-Norman

language had taken the place of the older Saxon; and we may properly divide the literature of the whole period into the two classes of Anglo-Latin and Anglo-Norman.

§ I.—*Anglo-Latin Literature.*

At the period of the Norman invasion of England, a great intellectual movement had commenced in the schools on the continent. This showed itself in an increasing study of the ancient writers of Rome, and a consequent improvement in literary taste and style. Latin composition was cultivated nowhere with greater success than in the schools of Normandy; and some of the most distinguished ornaments of those schools were brought over into our island by the Conqueror. From that moment the Anglo-Latin writers took a position in the literature of Europe which they had long lost, or which, more truly, they had never held before; for the Latinity of the early Saxon writers is tame and incorrect when compared with that of the scholars of Lanfranc and Anselm. It was, however, essentially owing to the importation of learned men; for, during the first half of the Anglo-Norman period, the distinguished Latin writers in our island were, with very few exceptions, foreigners who were brought over by the Norman monarchs to be the dignitaries of the English church. The earlier Anglo-Norman scholars were almost entirely theologians, and the epigrams of Godfrey of Winchester stand alone amid a mass of writings which, with the exception of some valuable letters, and a few historical tracts, have little interest at the present day.

The great developement of the scholastic system on the continent, and the intellectual agitation to which it gave birth, had a visible influence on the literature of our island, although it appears that, perhaps from the greater extent of our political troubles, the disputes of the scholastic philosophers were not much encouraged here. Although

the schools at Oxford and Cambridge existed in the earlier part of the twelfth century, they seem to have had little influence during the whole Norman period, and were looked upon only as introductory to the universities of France. Thither flocked most of our native scholars; and Englishmen, such as Athelard, Robert de Retines, Robert de Melun, Daniel de Merlai, John of Salisbury, &c., became the most distinguished ornaments of the continental schools.

The Latin of the earlier writers is characterized by considerable vigour of style, arising from clearness and simplicity of diction, which subsequently gave way to an affectation of florid ornament which made the style of the later writers very confused and often unintelligible. We meet with good Latin poetry throughout the twelfth century; the writings of Laurence of Durham, Henry of Huntingdon, John of Salisbury, John de Hauteville, Nigellus Wireker, Alexander Neckam, and others, contain passages of great beauty, and almost classic elegance; whilst a new style of Latin versification, in which rhymes took the place of the ancient metres, beginning with Hilarius, and brought to perfection in the satirical poems attributed to Walter Mapes, possesses a certain energy and sprightliness which is not without considerable attraction. This class of poetry became extremely popular, and continued to exist in its original vigour long after the style of the more serious Latin writers had become hopelessly debased. Indeed, the period at which it appears to have flourished most was the middle of the thirteenth century, under the troubled reign of Henry III. It may be observed that poetry in general was peculiarly the literature of the schools, and of the secular clergy; and much of that of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is distinguished by its hostility to monachism.

By far the most important class of Latin writers during the twelfth century was that of historians. At first their

works were mere dry chronicles of events, like the remains of Florence of Worcester and Turgot. Eadmer's historical works may be considered in some degree as political treatises, their object being to commemorate and defend the conduct of his friend and patron Anselm. Ordericus Vitalis first made history the object of laborious research, but his work wants system and arrangement. William of Malmsbury is the most elegant of our medieval historians; and after his time several of his countrymen, such as Giraldus Cambrensis and William of Newbury, attempted with success to raise the character of the historian above that of the mere chronicler. We can only look upon Geoffrey of Monmouth as a writer of romance. It was in these histories that the Latin style of the schools became most rapidly debased, partly because the authors were in many cases monks and not schoolmen, and partly because they had to deal with matters of private life, in which they were obliged to introduce a barbarous phraseology. This becomes more apparent towards the beginning of the thirteenth century; and such writing as that of Jocelin de Brakelonde presents a strange contrast to the style of John of Salisbury and Giraldus Cambrensis. Very little Latin prose that is tolerable was written after the middle of the thirteenth century. Norman and English had then, to a certain degree, driven the Latin out of the field, or at least had thrown it into the hands of a school of heavy theologians.

The scholastic writers of the twelfth century appear to have prided themselves on their epistolary style, and many very important volumes of letters, collected and published by them or by their disciples, have been preserved. These are among the most valuable illustrations of the public and private history of the age to which they belong. They begin with those of Lanfranc and Anselm, and become very numerous in the reign of Henry II. Those of Becket and his friends, as well as those of his

opponent Gilbert Foliot (which are preparing for publication by Dr. Giles), were evidently published from political motives. Among the most valuable, and, in a literary point of view, the most interesting, we must place those of John of Salisbury and Peter of Blois, which make us intimate not only with the political, but with the scholastical, history of the latter half of the twelfth century.

§ II.—*Anglo-Norman Literature.*

When the Normans entered England, although but a century and a half had elapsed since their settlement in France, they had entirely lost the language they had brought with them from the North, and had long adopted that of the people whom they had conquered, one of the dialects derived from the ancient Latin, called, from their origin, *lingua Romana*, or *langue Romane*, which has in the sequel been moulded down into the modern French. As early even as the time of the second of the Norman dukes, William I., only a few years after the death of Rollo, we are told by Dudo de St. Quentin, that the duke was obliged to send his son to Bayeux to learn the Danish tongue, as the *langue Romane* was almost the only tongue spoken at Rouen, then the chief seat of the power of the Northmen in France.* Benoît de St. Maure, paraphrasing Dudo in his History of the Dukes of Normandy, speaks still more strongly,—

Si à Roem le faz garder	If I cause him to be kept at Rouen
E norir gaires longuement,	And nourished very long,
Il ne saura parler neient	He will not know how to talk at all
Daneis; kar *nul ne l'i parole.*	Danish; for no one speaks it there.
Si voil k'il seit à tele escole,	It is very well that he be at such a school,

* Quoniam quidem Rotomagensis civitas *Romana* potius quam *Dacisca* utitur *eloquentia*, et Bajocassensis fruitur frequentius *Dacisca lingua* quam *Romana*. Dudo, lib. iii. p. 112.

Que as Daneis sache parler ;	That he may know how to talk to the Danes ;
Ci ne savent rien fors Romanz :	Here they know nothing but Romanȝ ;
Mais à Baiues en a tanz	But at Bayeux there are many
Qui ne savent si Daneis non.	Who know nothing but Danish.

We learn from another source, that at the council of Mouson-sur-Meuse in 995, the bishop of Verdun spoke in French.* It is probable that, with their language, the Normans had lost most of their national traditions and poetry; for the literature of Normandy, when it first becomes known to us, is, in this respect, purely French.

The popular literature of the Normans in France and England previous to the twelfth century is totally unknown to us. The poet Taillefer is said to have repeated one of the songs of his native country at the battle of Hastings; but this rests on authority not earlier than the middle of that century, and it is doubtful whether the song attributed to him related to Rollo, the founder of the Norman dynasty in France, or to Roland the celebrated hero of French romance. There does not appear to be any monument of the language earlier than the year 1100.†

However, as most of the popular literature of this period was confined to the jongleurs, who were at the same time authors and minstrels, and as it was probably seldom or never committed to writing, we have no difficulty in accounting for its loss. We know that there were jongleurs in Normandy at an early period, and that they followed their patrons into England. But we only become acquainted with their compositions at a later period.

In literature, the Anglo-Norman language first makes its appearance in poems of a religious and serious charac-

* Harduini Concil. tom. vi. p. 734.

† The Abbé de la Rue, Essais Historiques, tom. i, pp. li, lii, has supposed that an epitaph in French on Frodoard, which he there prints, is contemporary with the death of that historian, which occurred in 966; but it is clearly of a much more recent date.

ter; and it seems to have first found a distinguished patron in Adelaide of Louvaine, queen of Henry I. The patronage of this lady was bestowed not only on Philip de Thaun, who dedicated to her his metrical Bestiary, but also on an anonymous *trouvère*, or poet, apparently a Benedictine monk, who composed the legend of St. Brandan in Anglo-Norman verse. This latter poem, if we may venture to give it such a name, opens with the following lines:*—

Donna Aaliz la reine,	The lady Alice the queen,
Par qui valdrat lei divine,	Through whom the divine law will flourish,
Par qui creistrat lei de terre,	Through whom the law of the land will increase,
E remandrat tante guerre	And so great war will be pacified
Por les armes Henri lu rei,	Through the arms of Henry the king,
E par le cunseil qui ert en tei,	And through the counsel which will be in thee,
Salvet tei mil e mil feiz	The pope dan Benedict
Li apostoiles danz Benediz.	Salute thee a thousand and a thousand times.
Que comandas, ço ad enpris,	What you commanded, I have undertaken,
En letre mis e en Romanz,	Have put in writing and in Romanz,
E si cum fud li teons cumanz,	As it was thy command,
De saint Brendan le bon abeth;	[The life] of St. Brandan the good abbot;
Mais tu l' defent, ne seit gabeth.	Moreover you forbade that it should be done disrespectfully.
Quant dit que set e fait que peot,	When any one has said what he knows and done what he can,
Itel servant blasmer n'esteot;	We should not blame such a servant;
Mais si qui peot e ne voile,	But he who can and will not,
Dreix est que cil mult se doile.	It is right that he should have much grief.

There is, however, none of the spirit or poetry of the jongleur in these pieces, and it is quite evident that their only object was to make the subjects on which they treated familiar to those who were not acquainted with the Latin

* It is preserved in MS. Cotton. Vespas. B. x.

language; and they were written in verse as an aid to the memory, and perhaps also with the hope that the religious legends of the monks might thus take the place of the profane songs of the secular poets. We find during the twelfth century much anonymous verse in Anglo-Norman on pious and legendary subjects. A metrical collection of *Miracles of the Virgin* in a manuscript in the British Museum (MS. Egerton, No. 612), written either at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, appears to have been composed at an earlier date. The author, whose name was William, tells us that his contemporaries were too much attached to poetry which treated on love, and battles, and "other adventures," although he confesses that there was something to be learnt from such subjects as these.—

Li home de jolifté,	Men of pleasure,
Ki tant aiment lur volenté,	Who love so much their will,
Amereient milz autre escrit	Would like better some other writing
Ke cuntast amerus delit,	Which told of love,
U bataille, u altre aventure,	Or battle, or other adventure;
En tels escriz mettent lur cure.	In such writings they place their care.
Tes escriz ne sunt à defendre,	Such writings are not to be forbidden,
Kar grant sens i poet l'en aprendre	For we may learn from them great knowledge
De curtesie e de saveir.	Of courtesy and wisdom.

MS. Eg. No. 612, fol. 9, r°.

However, he says that they ought not to hold poems of this kind in so much esteem as to neglect more pious subjects, such as the miracles of the Virgin, and of the other saints. Even in the reign of Stephen, when the works of the *trouvères* became much more numerous, they are chiefly of a religious character, and their authors were generally monks. We must, however, be understood as speaking of the written literature of the day; for there can be no doubt that a great body of the medieval romances

were in existence at this period, of which we have an example in the noble *chanson de Roland*, by the *trouvère* Turold, of which an early manuscript in the Anglo-Norman dialect has been preserved.

Most of this religious and serious poetry consisted in mere translations or paraphrases from the Latin, and the writers make no further pretension. We have a few translations in prose which appear to belong to the earliest period of Anglo-Norman literary history. One of the oldest of these is a version of the Psalms, which is found in several manuscripts in England. The first Psalm, taken from a copy in the British Museum (MS. Cotton. Nero C. VI.), will furnish an example of Anglo-Norman prose probably of the reign of Henry I.

Beonuré barun chi ne alat el cunseil des feluns, et en la veie des pecheurs ne stout, et en la chaere de pestilence ne sist.	Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, and standeth not in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.
Mais en la lei de nostre seignor la volunted, e en la sue lei purpenserat par jurn e par nuit.	But his delight is in the law of our Lord: and in this law doth he meditate day and night.
E iert ensement cume le fust qued et de juste les decurs des ewes, ki dunrat sun froit en son tens.	And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season. His leaf also shall not wither, and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.
E sa fuille ne decurrat, e tutes les coses que il unques ferad serunt fait prospres.	
Nient eissi li felun, nient eissi, mais ensement cume la puldre que li venz getet de la face de terre.	The ungodly are not so: but are like the chaff which the wind driveth away.
En pur iço ne surdent li felun en juise, ne li pecheor el conseil des dreituriers.	Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgement, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous.
Kar nostre sire cunuist la veie des justes, e l'eire des feluns perirat.	For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous: but the way of the ungodly shall perish.

In a fine manuscript of the first half of the twelfth century, in Trinity College, Cambridge, the Anglo-Norman

version of the Psalms is given as an interlinear gloss. A translation of the four books of Kings, evidently in Anglo-Norman, has been printed in Paris, under the editorial care of M. Le Roux de Lincy, from a manuscript preserved at Paris, but probably written in England also in the first half of the twelfth century. The following extract will serve for comparison with the preceding example of the Anglo-Norman of the Psalms:—

Samuel issi le fist. Revint al pople, et si lur dit:

Rei m'avez demanded. Deus l'ad oi, si l'ad granted; mais sur vus tele seignurie aura que voz fiz à sun plaisir prendra: des uns en frad chevalers, des altres curliens devant sun charrei;

Des uns en frad ses prevoz e cunestables, des altres vileins pur as terre arer, e pur ses blez seer, e pur ses armes forgier, e ses curres agreier.

E voz filles, les unes frunt les uignemenz, les altres le mangier; les altres erent al pestrin.

Voz champs, voz bones vignes, vos olivers, toldra e à ses serfs les durra.

Voz blez, les fruiz des vignes, il les dismera; as ses serjanz il les durrad.

Voz serfz, voz anceles, le eslite bachelerie prendra, e à sun servise les metra.

De vostre pecunie frad sun plaisir; serfs serrez, si l' vus estuverad suffrir.

Lores crierez à Deu merci, mais il ne vus deignerad oir, pur ço que vus demandez rei, e degetez lui e mei.

And he [Samuel] said. This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: he will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall run before his chariots.

And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties; and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots.

And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers.

And he will take your fields and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants.

And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers, and to his servants.

And he will take your men-servants, and your maid-servants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work.

He will take the tenth of your sheep: and ye shall be his servants.

And ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen you: and the Lord will not hear you in that day.

Among other translations, we may mention that of the laws of William the Conqueror, which, although not preserved in any very early manuscript, appears to be in the language of the twelfth century, as the following passage will show:—

De entremeins aveir; k'il voldrat clamer emblet, e il volge doner wage e trover plege à persuir soun apel, dunc l'estuverad à celui qui l'auverad entre-meins nomer sount guarant, si il l'ad; e s'il ne l'ad, dunc nomerad soun heimelborh e ces testimoines, e ait les à jur e à terme, s'il les ad u s'il les pot aver. E li enterceur liveriad en guage sei siste mein; e li altre le mettrad en la main soun warant u à heimelborh, lequel qu'il averad. E s'il n'ad guarant ne heimelborh e il ait testimoines, que il l'achatad al marchiet li rei, e qu'il ne set soun warant ne le plege vif ne mort, çeo jurad od ses testimoines par plein serment; si perdra soun chatel; si il testimoinent que il heimelborh en prist, e s'il ne pot aveir guarant ne testimoine que il heimelborh en prist, e s'il ne pot aveir guarant ne testimoine, si perdrad e pursoldrad; pert sa werre vers soun seignur; ço est en Merchenelae. E en Denelae e en Westsexenelae ne vocherad mie soun seignour warant, içeo que seit mis en guage; e en Danelae mettre en vele main d'issi là que il se derained, e s'il pot prover que çeo soit de sa nurture par treis partz soun vigned, se il averad deraignet.

Of possession of live-stock; if any one shall claim it as stolen, and he will give pledge and find sureties for pursuing his claim, then it will behove him who shall have it in his possession to name his warrant, if he have one; and if he has not one, then he shall name his 'heimelborh' (title of possession) and witnesses, and have them at day and term, if he has them or if he can have them. And the claimant shall give in pledge himself and five others; and the other shall put it in the hand of his warrant, or to the heimelborh, whichever he may have. And if he has no warrant or heimelborh, and he has witnesses that he bought it in the king's market, and he does not know his warrant or his pledge, alive or dead, he shall swear that with his witnesses by full oath; and he shall lose the goods; if they witness that he took heimelborh of it, and if he cannot have warrant or witness that he took heimelborh of it, he shall lose it and pay a fine; he loses his 'were' (head-money,) towards his lord; this is in Mercian-law. And in Danish-law and Westsaxon-law he shall not give his lord his warrant before the claimant be put in pledge; and in Danish-law they will put the property in the hand of a neutral until he be cleared, and if he can prove that it be of his breeding by three parts of his 'visnet,' he shall be acquitted.

The only known English writers of Anglo-Norman prose are Walter Mapes, Robert de Borron, and Luces de Gast, the authors of some of the most popular romances of the cycle of the Round Table. An example of Mapes's style is given at p. 305 of the present volume; it will be seen that the language had changed considerably from that of the earlier translations of the Psalms and books of Kings, but the variety of manuscripts of the work from which it is taken renders it impossible to say which of them represents most faithfully the language in which Mapes wrote.

In the reign of Stephen there arose a new class of *trouvères*, who took their subjects from national history. Gaimar translated Geoffrey of Monmouth into Anglo-Norman verse, and added to it a history of the Saxon kings, in which we first meet with the romance of Haveloc; and a writer named David, whose work is lost, wrote a history of the reign of Henry I. in the same form. Under Henry II. the writers of this class become more numerous. Wace again translated Geoffrey of Monmouth, and wrote a metrical history of Normandy. His rival Benoît de St. Maure wrote a much more diffuse, but less poetical, history of the Norman dukes. Jordan Fantosme wrote a history of one of Henry the Second's wars, in which he had himself been present. Guernes du Pont de St. Maxence wrote the life of Thomas Becket. These are the only Anglo-Norman poets whom we know to have flourished during the reign of Henry II. Wace and Benoît have more spirit than the monkish writers of legends and miracles; but, with the exception of a few passages here and there, their poems are very flat and dull. Jordan Fantosme and Guernes are more vigorous.

A new era of Anglo-Norman literature opens with the reign of Richard I. The lion-hearted King prided himself

on his poetic talents, and he was the patron of jongleurs and trouvères, whose works, as far as we are now acquainted with them, become more numerous at this period. Some of them, such as Bozun, Herman, Simon du Fresne, and William the Clerk, still devoted themselves to religious and moral subjects. These writers were not properly minstrels; they did not recite their own works, but committed them to writing, which is the cause of their being preserved in early manuscripts. They were monks; and some of them appear to have embraced the monastic life after having been professed poets, and to have made atonement for the profane productions of their earlier years by dedicating their talents to sacred subjects. Several of the writers of metrical legends allude to their own profane poems, which have since perished, because at this period the clergy alone committed their works to writing. Thus William the Clerk tells us in a religious poem :—

Guillaume, uns clers qui fu Normans,	William, a clerk who was of Normandy,
Qui versifia en Romans,	Who wrote verses in Romans,
Fables et contes soleit dire,	Used to tell fables and tales,
En fole et en vaine matire	In foolish and vain matter
Pecha sovent, Deus li pardont !	He sinned often, may God forgive him !

Many of the metrical romances were preserved orally by successive jongleurs, and when committed to writing they differed much from the original copy. This is the reason that different manuscripts of the earlier romances, taken down from the recital of different persons, vary so much from one another, as in the case of the Chanson de Roland.

A few romances, by known writers of the reigns of Richard and of John, such as William the Clerk (just mentioned), Hugh de Rutland, Thomas, and Philip de Reimes, as well as some songs of this period, are still preserved.

It is probable that some of the anonymous productions found in manuscripts of the thirteenth century also belong to the same date, but of this we cannot speak with any degree of certainty.

It will be seen by this brief review of the literature of the Anglo-Norman language during the twelfth century, that, until the close of the century, it has no great attractions, beyond a few historical productions which might as well have been written in Latin, and one or two metrical romances. These productions are most valuable in a philological point of view, because they give us the forms of the language at particular and well ascertained dates. This language, in England, appears to have gone through less rapid changes than on the Continent; and early in the thirteenth century it affords a means of comparison which we should not otherwise have possessed. In literature, this period can only be looked upon as an introduction to the history of French poetry in England and on the Continent in the thirteenth century, when its field became extensive, rich, and varied. The Latin writers of the twelfth century contain many allusions to the existence of the jongleurs and trouvères, but it was not till the thirteenth century that their compositions were preserved in writing: And then their history in England becomes more complicated, because a more purely national literature was springing up, in which the other was gradually merged.

It would be in vain to attempt a history of English literature in the twelfth century, because everything connected with it is vague and uncertain. The proverbs of Alfred, in semi-Saxon verse, still preserved, existed in the time of Ailred of Rievaux, who mentions them.* A Bestiary, written in much the same style and language,

* See the Biog. Brit. Literaria, Anglo-Saxon Period, p. 396.

may probably be of the same date.* A version of the popular metrical dialogue or debate between the body and the soul has also been found, with a modernization of Alfric's Grammar, in a manuscript of the twelfth century. A translation into early English, or semi-Saxon, of the "Rule of Nuns" of Simon de Ghent, which is preserved in several manuscripts, and a few collections of English sermons, belong certainly to a period not later than the beginning of the thirteenth century.† These productions, of no great importance in themselves, joined with the larger works of Orm and Layamon, and the elegant poem on the Owl and the Nightingale by Nicholas de Guildford, serve to connect the Saxon of the Chronicle with the English literature of the thirteenth century.

* Both are printed in the Reliquiæ Antiquæ.

† Specimens of all these will be found in the Reliquiæ Antiquæ.

BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA LITERARIA.

ANGLO-NORMAN PERIOD.

SECTION I.—The Latter Half of the Eleventh Century.

LANFRANC.

Lanfranc stands justly at the head of the Anglo-Norman period of our literary history, not only for the high position which he held in the state under William the Conqueror, but because he may be considered the father of Latin literature in England during the ages which followed.* He was a native of Lombardy, his parents being of senatorial rank in the city of Pavia,† and was born about the year 1005.‡ Although from his childhood Lanfranc was destined to the bar, his thirst for learning was displayed at an early age, and, after exhausting the means of instruction in his native city, he left it to visit the more famous universities of Italy. Having made himself master of all the sciences then taught,§ he returned to Pavia, and practised as a pleader in the

* There is a life of Lanfranc, said to be written by his disciple Milo Crispin, cantor of Bec, shortly after his death, and printed in the edition of his collected works. The other authorities of most importance are, Orderic. Vital. lib. iv. p. 209, W. Malmsb. de Pontif. lib. i. p. 205, et seq. and William of Jumièges.

† Pater ejus de ordine illorum qui jura et leges civitatis asservabant fuit. Vita Lanfranci, c. 1. William of Malmsbury says only, Is gente Longobardus, non adeo abjecta et obscura progenie oriundus erat. De Gest. Pontif. lib. i. p. 205.

‡ Hist. Lit. de France, vol. viii. p. 260.

§ Ubi plurimo tempore demoratus, omni scientia sæculari perfecte imbutus rediit. Vita Lanfr. c. 1.

court with great success. But the ambition which distinguished Lanfranc through life, and which was ill concealed by the outward modesty and self-restraint which his biographers ascribe to him, led him to desert the profession of the law for one which offered higher distinctions; he crossed the Alps, passed through France into Normandy, and opened a school at Avranches. This occurred subsequently to 1035, for Normandy was then governed by duke William.

Lanfranc possessed in an eminent degree the qualities requisite for shining as a teacher, particularly at a period when in Normandy learning was in a very low condition. He had already obtained an extensive reputation for his great proficiency in the liberal sciences. He was, moreover, eloquent in an extraordinary degree;* and the school of Avranches was soon crowded with scholars. In a short time the clergy of Normandy, who had previously been celebrated only for their want of education, became distinguished for the excellence of their Latinity. When Lanfranc's reputation as a teacher had become established, a new field opened itself to his ambition. He was as yet but a layman, and could aspire to no further dignity than that of the schools; the church was to him the only road to higher honours and power, and the way in which he entered it was a proof of his political talent. He suddenly disappeared from Avranches, without giving any intimation of the reason of his departure, or the direction he had taken. At that period there existed a small house of monks at Bec, which had been brought together by their unlettered abbot Herluin, and whose poverty obliged them to provide by manual labour the common necessaries of life. Hither the teacher

* Torrente facundia apposite dicendo senes superavit. Order. Vital. p. 209.

of Avranches bent his steps: he found the abbot Herluin occupied in the humblest domestic duties, but he was not deterred from entering himself as a member of the brotherhood. This occurred in 1042. He remained here in the strictest privacy during three years, at the end of which period, having been elected to the office of prior, he suddenly reopened his school in the then small abbey of Bec.* At a later period Lanfranc's disciples spread abroad a story relating to this important step in his life, which was probably intended to enforce their prejudices against the secular learning which was then gaining ground. They said that he was on the way from Avranches to Rouen, whither he intended to remove his school, when, in passing the woods on the banks of the river 'Risla,' he was attacked by robbers, plundered, and bound to a tree, his face covered with his capuce. Without any hope of being released in this solitary spot, Lanfranc turned his thoughts to Him who only had the power to assist him, but he found that, amid his multifarious studies, he had neglected to commit to memory the forms of prayer enjoined by the church (debitas laudes Domino). In this dilemma he was seized with bitter compunction, and made a vow that, if he escaped with his life, he would turn himself entirely to theological studies and pious exercises.† The following morning he was released by some passengers who accidentally came to the spot, and, inquiring for the poorest monastic establishment in the neighbourhood, he was directed to Bec.

Three years' fasting had rather increased than dulled

* Vita Lanfr. ca. 1, 2. Orderic. Vital. p. 210. W. Malmsb. de Pontif. p. 205.

† Et conversus ad Dominum, Domine Deus, ait, tantum tempus in discendo expendi, et corpus et animum in studiis literarum attrivi, et adhuc quomodo te debeam orare atque laudis officia tibi persolvere non didici. Libera me de hac tribulatione, et ego, te auxiliante, sic vitam meam corrigere et instituere curabo, ut tibi servire valeam et sciam. Vita Lanfranci, c. 1.

the growing appetite for learning, and no sooner was Lanfranc's reappearance publicly known, than he was surrounded by multitudes of scholars. The glory of the school of Bec soon surpassed that of Avranches.* Lanfranc pretended that his only object in teaching was to relieve the poverty of his monastery; but, in his pride of superior learning, he even showed his contempt for the ignorance of his brethren, and when, with the riches amassed from the liberality of his scholars and their friends, he proposed to pull down the old lodgings of the monks, and build a magnificent monastery in its place, his proposal shocked the humility of abbot Herluin. But he overcame Herluin's scruples by the same craftiness which he appears to have shown on several other occasions; in the midst of their debates on the subject, the old presbytery suddenly fell to the ground, the abbot was convinced that it was an intimation from heaven of the approval of Lanfranc's designs, and the foundation of the new monastery was commenced. The arrogance of the scholar was not confined within the walls of his cloister; it raised him numerous and powerful enemies without. On one occasion, when duke William's chaplain, bishop Herfast, came to hear him with a numerous company of courtiers, Lanfranc insulted him by offering him a spelling-book.† Herfast made his complaint to the duke, which was probably enforced by those of many others of the offended Norman clergy, and William gave immediate orders to eject the teacher from Bec, and

* Exivit fama ejus remotissimas Latinitatis plagas, eratque Beccum magnum et famosum literaturæ gymnasium. W. Malmsb. de Vit. Pontif. p. 205

† Herfastus jam Willielmi comitis postea regis capellanus, ad famosum gymnasium magna sociorum et equorum pompa pervenit: tum Lanfrancus, ex prima collocutione intelligens quam prope nihil sciret, abecedarium ipsi expediendum apposuit, ferociam hominis Italica facetia illudens. W. Malmsb. de Vit. Pontif. lib. ii. p. 238.

banish him from Normandy, and to burn a farm or grange dependent on the abbey. The latter part of the duke's direction was immediately executed; but Lanfranc, mounted on a lame horse, repaired to the court. "I am ready to obey thy orders," he said to the duke, "but my horse is ill fitted for speedy flight: give me a better, and thy wishes will be more quickly accomplished." The duke's mirth was excited by the strange figure of the monk and his horse, which thus produced the intended effect; a brief interview was sufficient to make William acquainted with the surpassing talents of the man whom he was persecuting, and from this moment Lanfranc's life was but a series of advancements.

Lanfranc, now become the intimate counsellor of the duke, found immediate opportunities of displaying his abilities to advantage. Duke William had disobeyed the pope in marrying his cousin, Matilda of Flanders, who was within the limits of consanguinity then forbidden by the church, and Normandy was in consequence placed under the papal interdict. It appears that one part of Lanfranc's offence had been his open condemnation of that measure,* although most of the early historians pass over this circumstance in silence. He now declared himself in favour of the marriage, repaired to Rome in 1050, and, by representing the political advantages to be derived from a toleration of it, obtained the repeal of the interdict on the condition that the duke and duchess should each of them found a monastery at Caen. A circumstance which now happened raised Lanfranc's influence at Rome, and probably contributed not a little to the success of his negociations for the duke. One of Lanfranc's scholastic friends was the famous Berengarius, who taught at Tours,

* Vita Lanfranci, c. 3.

and who was now actively spreading his opinions. He declared, in opposition to the doctrine then held by the church of Rome, that the eucharistic bread and wine were not transubstantiated into the real body and blood of Christ. It does not appear that the opinions of the western church were as yet uniform on this subject, and it is probable that Lanfranc had shared in the doctrine of Berengarius; at least he appears to have been seriously compromised by some letters between him and Berengarius which had accidentally been made public. The ostensible object of his journey to Rome was to clear himself from these suspicions, and he gave such full satisfaction of his orthodox opinions at that time, and such proofs of his skill as a controversialist, that he was from that period looked upon as the champion of the church against the heretical doctrines of its adversary, and in that capacity he was present at the councils of Rome and Vercelli in the same year. He returned to Bec towards the end of the year (1050), and continued his teaching until 1066,* when duke William, having finished his monastery of St. Stephen at Caen, made Lanfranc its first abbot, and he removed thither his schools, which had increased in celebrity since the display of his dialectical learning in the controversy with Berengarius, and were now frequented by scholars, not only from Normandy, but from France, Gascony, Bretagne, and Flanders.†

In 1070, when William, then king of England, had

* See Le Provost, note on Orderic. Vital. lib. iv. p. 213. The common account says in 1063, which agrees with W. of Malmsbury's statement (De Gest. Pont. p. 216) that Anselm was prior of Bec fifteen years; but Ordericus, who lived so soon after Anselm, seems to have been too well acquainted with the history of the Norman abbeys to have fallen into an error.

† Fama peritiæ illius in tota ubertim innotuit Europa; unde ad magisterium ejus multi convenerunt de Francia, de Wasconia, de Britannia, necne Flandria. Order. Vital. lib. iv. p. 210.

deposed archbishop Stigand, with several other Anglo-Saxon prelates, he invited Lanfranc to England to take the vacant see of Canterbury. But Lanfranc, who had already refused the archbishopric of Rouen, exhibited at least a feigned reluctance, and declined the honour, although in the sequel he was compelled to accept it by the urgent solicitations of the king, the pope, and above all, as he said, by those of his aged friend abbot Herluin. He was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury on the 29th of August, 1070; and he immediately proceeded to treat the English church in the same manner as his royal master had treated the people. Within the space of a few years a large part of the native English clergy was deprived, in order to make room for foreigners. The Anglo-Saxon church, during the whole of this century, had been more or less obnoxious to the papal court, and the Norman conquest was considered by the pope as a signal victory of Catholicism. Lanfranc ejected entirely the secular clerks, who had recovered their position in the church since the time of Dunstan, and supplied their place with monks. He even treated with contempt the memory of the Anglo-Saxon saints; he abolished every part of the Anglo-Saxon service which differed from the continental practice; he reduced the see of York to subjection to that of Canterbury; and he would have deposed the amiable and venerable bishop Wulstan. In return, as a mark of especial favour, he restored to the English bishops the precedency in the council and parliament, according to the order which had been in use under the Saxon monarchs.* But, in the sequel, he conferred a more solid benefit on England by the number of scholars whom he brought over, and who laid the foundation of a school in which

* W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. lib. iii. p. 118.

science and literature were cultivated to a much greater extent than under the Anglo-Saxons.

The remainder of Lanfranc's life belongs rather to history than to literature. He was the favourite counsellor of the Conqueror, and was entrusted with the reins of government during his absence in Normandy. We owe, probably, to his wisdom much of the moderation which characterised this king's reign.* The dispute with the see of York was long and obstinate. In 1071 Lanfranc made his last visit to Rome, in company with archbishop Thomas of York and Remigius of Lincoln. The pope received him with unusual marks of respect, and delivered him the pallium with his own hand. Lanfranc then laid before the pontiff his claims to spiritual sovereignty over the see of York; but the pope recommended him to try this question in a national council, which was held at London in 1072, and decided in his favour. Lanfranc occupied himself very actively with his reforms in the English church. Two councils were held at Winchester in 1076, for the regulation of church discipline, which were especially directed against the wives of priests. Another council was held at London in 1078, in which some changes were made in the episcopal sees. In the following year, or early in 1080, Lanfranc wrote his celebrated treatise against Berengarius.†

The monkish writers extol Lanfranc for his liberality and affability. They represent him as willingly absenting

* The writer of Lanfranc's life says that at one of the great festivities, Quidam scurra videns regem auro et gemmis radiantem, exclamavit in aula magna adulationis voce, et dixit, "Ecce Deum video, ecce Deum video!" and that the king, at Lanfranc's request, ordered him to be beaten for his gross attempt at flattery. Vita Lanfranci, c. 13.

† This appears from the circumstance that it contains an allusion to the Council of Rome in 1078, and that it must have been composed before Berengarius's retraction of his opinions in 1080.

himself from the duties laid upon him by the state to watch over the welfare of his own diocese. The latter years of his life appear to have been chiefly spent in enriching and enlarging his cathedral and the monasteries which were in his more immediate neighbourhood. His charity was felt by all classes that were in need of his support. Soon after his appointment to the archbishopric of Canterbury, he had sent for the aged abbot Herluin; and in 1077 he returned the visit, and consecrated the new church of Bec. He preserved his love of literature through life; he frequently employed his leisure in hearing the disputations of poor scholars, and dismissed them with handsome presents.* He spent much of his time in correcting the English manuscripts of the Fathers and of the Scriptures, and in reducing the text of both to strict conformity with that which was then recognised as authentic at Rome; † for the manuscripts in England represented the text as it had existed at an earlier period, and they were also probably filled with errors of the copyists, the Anglo-Saxon scribes being extremely inaccurate. The writers of the Histoire Littéraire de France speak of manuscripts existing in the last century which were corrected by the hand of Lanfranc, and which sometimes contained his observations in the margin;‡ and Dacherius has printed among Lanfranc's works four

* Nec pudebat archiepiscopum alte succinctum pauperibus cibos apponere, et tenuioris fortunæ scholares ad disputationum pugnam committere. Post verba utrique læti abibant, dum et victor scientiæ præmium et victus acciperet verecundiæ solatium. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 214.

† Lectioni erat assiduus et ante episcopatum et in episcopatu quantum poterat. Et quia scripturæ scriptorum vitio erant nimium corruptæ, omnes tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti libros, necnon etiam scripta sanctorum patrum, secundum orthodoxam fidem studuit corrigere. Et etiam multa de his quibus utimur nocte et die in servitio ecclesiæ ad unguem emendavit: et hoc non tantum per se, sed etiam per discipulos fecit. Vita Lanfranci, c. 15.

‡ Hist. Lit. de France, vol. viii. p. 287.

such notes on the Collationes Patrum of Johannes Cassianus. Perhaps the Anglo-Saxon writers received some mutilation in the progress of correction, for we have still manuscripts in which passages relating to the doctrine of the Eucharist have been erased. In his earlier days Lanfranc had been distinguished for his attachment to dialectics, but after his advance in the church he spoke of that science in a disparaging manner, and maintained that in matters of faith authority ought to supersede argument. The following extract from the seventh chapter of the celebrated treatise against Berengarius contains his opinions on this subject, and affords a specimen of his style of writing and of reasoning:—

Berengarius. Non enim constare poterit affirmatio omnis, parte subruta; et hoc sicut dicit beatus Augustinus in libro de Doctrina Christiana: in ipsa æternitatis veritate, quæ Deus est indissolubiliter constat.

Lanfrancus. Relictis sacris authoritatibus ad Dialecticam confugium facis. Et quidem de mysterio fidei auditurus ac responsurus, quæ ad rem debeant pertinere mallem audire, ac respondere sacras authoritates quam dialecticas rationes. Verum contra hæc quoque nostri erit studii respondere, ne ipsius artis inopia me putes in hac tibi parte deesse: fortasse jactantia quibusdam videbitur, et ostentationi magis quam necessitati deputabitur. Sed testis mihi Deus est et conscientia mea, quia in tractatu divinarum literarum nec proponere nec ad propositas respondere cuperem dialecticus quæstiones vel earum solutiones. Etsi quando materia disputandi talis est, ut hujus artis regulas valeat enucleatius explicari, in quantum possum per æquipollentias propositionum tego artem, ne videar magis arte quam veritate sanctorumque patrum authoritate confidere. . . . . Adhuc alio argumento probare contendis, panem vinumque post consecrationem in principalibus permanere essentiis, dicens, Non enim constare poterit affirmatio omnis, parte subruta. Ad cujus rei probationem non oportuit inferri particularem negationem, qua de præsenti quæstione nihil colligitur, sed universalem potius, per quam enuntiatur, nulla affirmatio constare poterit parte subruta. Age enim particularis sit negatio tua, non omnis affirmatio constare poterit parte subruta, rursus assumptio tua. Panis et vinum altaris solummodo sunt sacramentum, vel panis et vinum altaris solummodo sunt verum Christi corpus et sanguis; utrumque affirmatio est. His duabus particularibus præcedentibus, poterisne regulariter concludere, parte subruta ea non esse constare? Absit. In nulla quippe syllogismorum figura, præcedentibus duabus particularibus consequenter infertur conclusio ulla. Male igitur eam collocasti. Illud vero perfunctorie non est prætereundum, quod præfatæ propositionis tuæ veritatem in ipsa æternitatis veritate, quæ Deus est, indis-

solubiliter constare pertribuisti, idque beati Augustini de Doctrina Christiana authoritate firmasti. Et quidem propositio ipsa vera est, veræque propositionis vim suo loco posita obtineret: sed tu male et inefficaciter eam posuisti, &c.

It is said that towards the end of William's reign Lanfranc had lost some part of the royal favour. On the king's death in 1087, he and Wolstan of Worcester were the principal means of fixing the crown on the head of his son William Rufus, to the prejudice of his elder brother Robert.* Lanfranc survived his benefactor only nineteen months; he died on the 28th of May, 1089, and was buried in his cathedral at Canterbury. He was long remembered in Kent for the good usages he had introduced,† and for the number of churches and houses which he had erected in the archiepiscopal manors.‡ The Saxon Chronicle gives him the title (which had been applied to Ethelwald and Dunstan) of the father and protector of monks.§

Although Lanfranc had done so much to promote the extension of learning, and had founded in England a new school of Latinists, yet, as was remarked in the age which followed his death,|| he left few monuments of his own

* Tota fere nobilitas Angliæ voluerat erexisse Robertum in regem, excepto Lanfranco archiepiscopo Cantuarensi et Wulstano episcopo Wygorniensi. Rudborne, Hist. Mag. Wint. ap. Wharton, p. 263.

† Hic multas bonas consnetudines fecit: easque perpetim observari debere statuit et præcepit. Birchington, Vit. Arch. Cant. p. 6, ap. Wharton.

‡ In maneriis ad archiepiscopum pertinentibus multas et honestas ecclesias ædificavit, multas et honestissimas domos præparavit. MS. Cotton. Claud. C. VI. fol. 168, r°, written in the twelfth century. Conf. Wharton, Ang. Sacr. i. p. 55.

§ An. 1089. On þisum geare se arwurða muneca feder ⁊ frover Landfranc arcebiscop ge-wat of þissum life; ac we hopiað ꝥ he ferde to ꝥ heofanlice rice.

|| Vir cujus industriam prædicabit Cantia, cujus doctrinam in discipulis ejus stupebit Latinitas, quantum omnes anni durabunt. Nam ipse pauca ingenii sui monumenta reliquit, decretales epistolas, et præcipuam contra Berengarium. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 215. Osburn, who wrote at his order the life of St. Elphege, says in praise of Lanfranc, Ac quemadmodum præcipiente *invictissimo totius Latinitatis magistro* Lanfranco archiepiscopo, &c.

scholarship. His principal work is the treatise against Berengarius, written at the close of 1079, or early in 1080, and addressed to Berengarius in the form of a letter. Many manuscripts of this work exist, and it has been frequently printed. It is sometimes found under the singular title of *Liber Scintillarum*. The more common title is, "Liber de Corpore et Sanguine Domini contra Berengarium." It is directed to Berengarius in the following words: "Lanfrancus misericordia Dei catholicus Berengario catholicæ ecclesiæ adversario."

2. The editor of his collected works has published under the name of Lanfranc a commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, which the writers of the Histoire Littéraire de France believe not to be his, because two passages cited by Sigebert from Lanfranc's Commentary on the Hebrews are not found in it. In a fine manuscript of the twelfth century in the British Museum (MS. Reg. 4 B. iv.), which formerly belonged to the priory of Worcester, we find a copy of Lanfranc's Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans and Corinthians, at the conclusion of which the scribe seems to have been interrupted in his labours. It appears by comparison with this that the printed work is an abridged copy of Lanfranc, which accounts for the omission of the passages quoted by Sigebert. It appears also that Mabillon had in his possession a perfect copy of this work. In the manuscript of the British Museum just alluded to, Lanfranc's commentary is followed by anonymous commentaries on the Song of Solomon and the Apocalypse, which have been attributed also to Lanfranc, but (as there is every reason to believe,) erroneously.

3. These, with sixty Epistles, chiefly on ecclesiastical matters, Lanfranc's Regulations for the English Benedictine Monks (Decreta Lanfranci pro ordine S. Benedicti),

and a brief tract *De celanda confessione* (which the writers of the Histoire Littéraire de France believe to be supposititious), form the collection of his works published by Dacherius.

4. The editor, however, subsequently discovered another short tract or discourse by Lanfranc, which he printed in his Spicilegium, under the title of *Sermo sive Sententiæ.*

5. There is extant another book, frequently found in manuscripts without any name of author, and sometimes attributed to Anselm, which we think was written by Lanfranc, probably before his elevation to the see of Canterbury. It is composed in the form of a dialogue between a master and his disciples, and is entitled *Elucidarium,* because, as its author informs us, its object was to elucidate some obscure questions, chiefly in theology, on which his disciples had asked for his judgment. In a manuscript of this work preserved in the British Museum,* written probably early in the twelfth century, it is distinctly attributed to Lanfranc in the following contemporary Rubric: Incipit Liber beati Lanfranci Cantuariensis archiepiscopi in sagacitate omnium sacri eloquii expositorum. The writers of the Histoire Littéraire de France have made the strange statement, that the Elucidarium is nothing but the Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul under another name.†

It is clear that some of Lanfranc's writings are lost. His disciple William abbot of Mersburg speaks of his Commentary on the Psalms.‡ Eadmer § mentions a brief history of the church by Lanfranc, which is probably the same as the history of his own time, which appears to have been extant in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and as the work which Sigebert calls the praises, triumphs,

* MS. Reg. 5 E. VI. † Hist. Lit. de France, vol. viii. p. 297.
‡ Conf. Hist. Lit. de Fr. viii. 294. § Hist. Nov. p. 30.

and deeds (laudes, triumphos, et res gestas) of William the Conqueror. The lists of the older bibliographers give titles of many works by Lanfranc which certainly never existed: Bale has made a number of different works out of the one treatise against Berengarius.

Editions.

According to Fabricius, the first printed edition of the treatise of Lanfranc against Berengarius was edited by François Carré (Franciscus Carreus), but he does not mention the date.

Philastrii Episcopi Brixiensis Hæreseωn Catalogus. Cui adjectus est eruditissimus libellus Lanfranci episcopi Canthuariensis de Sacramento Eucharistiæ adversus Berengarium nunc recens editi. Edited by John Sichard. Basiliæ, ex officina Frobenii, 1528. 8vo. Pantzer mentions a previous edition of this volume, without date or name of place.

There was a reprint of this volume in 1551.

Lanfrancus adversus Berengarium, was again printed with Paschasius Radbertus, 8vo. 1540. It was included among the Orthodoxographi, in 1555, and was given in all the early collections published under the title of Bibliotheca Patrum.

It was printed with the writings of Algerus, Guimundus, &c. by Ultimerius, 8vo. Lovan. 1561.

Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia, sive Disceptatio Historica de Antiquitate ordinis congregationisque Monachorum Nigrorum Sancti Benedicti in Regno Angliæ .... Opera et Industria R. P. Clementis Reyneri. Duaci, 1626. fol. pp. 211—252, Decreta D. Lanfranci pro Ordine S. Benedicti.

Beati Lanfranci Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Angliæ Primatis, Ordinis S. Benedicti, Opera omnia quæ reperiri potuerunt, evulgavit Domnus Lucas Dacherius. . . . Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1648. fol.

D'Acherii Spicilegium, 4to. 1653-77. tom. iv. p. 227. second edit. fol. 1723, tom. i. p. 442. Sermo sive sententiæ Lanfranci archiepiscopi.

Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum. Tomus Decimus Octavus. Lugduni, 1677. fol. pp. 621—763, Beati Lanfranci.. in omnes D. Pauli epistolas Commentarii, cum glossula interjecta.—pp. 763—777. Divi Lanfranci.. adversus Berengarium Turonensem, de Corpore et Sanguine Domini.—pp. 778—806, Decreta Lanfranci pro Ordine Sancti Benedicti.—pp. 807—828, Beati Lanfranci.. Epistolarum Liber.—pp. 826—833, Beati Lanfranci Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi de celanda confessione Libellus.—p. 833, Ejusdem Lanfranci Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis sermo sive sententiæ.

Translation.

Lettere, Venice, 1633. 4to. (indicated by Watt.)

GUY BISHOP OF AMIENS.

Among the Norman prelates who came over to England after the Conquest, was Guy bishop of Amiens, who, although his stay was not of long duration, deserves to be mentioned here on account of the Latin poem which he composed, probably at the king's desire, on the battle of Hastings. He was the almoner of queen Matilda, whom he accompanied to England in 1068.* He appears to have been a friend of Lanfranc, to whom he dedicates his poem in a brief prologue. He died in or before the year 1076.

The poem of Guy of Amiens is preserved in a manuscript at Brussels; and is important for the interesting and authentic details it contains relating to the proceedings of the Normans immediately after their arrival in England. The style in which this poem is written is very mean. The following lines afford a fair, perhaps a favourable specimen. Guy says that William refused to give Harold's body to his mother:—

> Illuxit postquam Phœbi clarissima lampas,
>   Et mundum furvis expiat a tenebris,
> Lustravit campum, tollens et cæsa suorum
>   Corpora, dux terræ condidit in gremio.
> Vermibus atque lupis, avibus canibusque voranda
>   Deserit Anglorum corpora strata solo.
> Heraldi corpus collegit dilaceratum,
>   Collectum texit sindone purpurea,
> Detulit et secum repetens sua castra marina,
>   Expleat ut solitas funeris exequias.
> Heraldi mater nimio constricta dolore
>   Misit ad usque ducem, postulat et precibus

* In clero qui ad divina ei ministrabat, celebris Guido Ambianorum præsul eminebat, qui jam certamen Heraldi et Guillelmi versifice ediderat. Ordericus Vitalis, Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. p. 181. (ed. Le Prevost); see also the same writer, lib. iii, p. 158, with M. Le Prevost's note; and Guillaume de Jumièges, lib. vi. c. 43.

Orbatæ miseræ natis tribus et viduatæ
Pro tribus unius reddat ut ossa sibi,
Si placet, aut corpus puro proponderet auro;
Sed dux iratus prorsus, utrumque negat,
Jurans quod potius præsentis littora portus
Illi committet aggere sub lapidum.
Ergo velut fuerat testatus, rupis in alto
Præcepit claudi vertice corpus humi.
Extemplo quidam partim Normannus et Anglus
Compatit Heraldi; jussa libenter agit:
Corpus enim regis cito sustulit et sepelivit
Imponens lapidem, scripsit et in titulo:
" Per mandata ducis, rex, hic, Heralde, quiescis,
Ut custos maneas littoris et pelagi."

The concluding lines of this extract remind us of a similar sentiment in an extract from an Anglo-Saxon poem, given in the introduction to our Biography of the Anglo-Saxon period.*

Editions.

Appendix C. to Mr. Purton Cooper's Report on Rymer's Fœdera, pp. 78—86. De Bello Normannico, seu de Conquisitione Angliæ per Guilelmum ducem Normanniæ, Carmen elegiacum. Edited by Mr. W. H. Black.

Collection of Historians edited by order of the Record Commission, vol. i. pp. 856—872. De bello Hastingensi carmen, auctore W.

Chroniques Anglo-Normandes.... recueil.... publié par Francisque Michel. Tome troisième. Rouen, 1840. 8vo. pp. 1—38. Widonis carmen de Hastingæ Prælio.

GERLAND.

Gerland is the earliest known writer in England on mathematical science after the Norman Conquest. So little is known of his personal history, that he has generally been confounded with John de Garlandia, who lived in the middle of the thirteenth century, and he was supposed by the authors of the Histoire Littéraire de France† to have been a French monk of the twelfth century. Boston of Bury, as quoted by Tanner, states that Gerland

* P. 11. † Hist. Litt. de Fr. vol. xii. p. 288.

flourished in 1040; which, however, is not correct, for Roger Infans, who wrote on the same subject in 1124, informs us that Gerland had observed an eclipse of the sun in 1086,* and Gerland's own tables published in his treatise on the Computus begin with the year 1182, in which year, or in the year preceding, the book was most probably composed. There is a good copy of Gerland's treatise on the Computus in the British Museum; † the author appears to be learned in his subject, and avows that his design in compiling this work was to correct and clear up the errors and doubts of his predecessors, especially of Bede..

The following is the preface to this work, (from the manuscript in the British Museum,) which, while it may serve as a specimen of the style of one of our early men of science, shows how cautiously and timorously the philosophers of the old school ventured to question the doctrines handed down to them from the "masters," at the moment when a new school, founded upon that of the Arabs, was on the point of making the most daring innovations, and questioning every thing which had been done in previous times.

Sæpe volumina domni Bedæ de scientia computandi replicans, et in eis quædam aliter quam traditio doctorum præsentium ostenderet reperiens, Dei fretus adjutorio, Deum invocans præesse meo studio, quæ visa mihi fuerunt utilissima inde pro captu ingenioli mei defloravi, et deflorata cum quibusdam aliunde conquisitis in unum congessi. Quæso itaque si unquam hæc computationis fimbria, hæc styli ariditas, hæc scientiæ gutta ad alicujus intuitum pervenerit, ne statim in morsum livoris dentes acuat, ne antequam perlegat præjudicet, ne siquid in toto notandum invenerit, pro parte totum ut nonnulli solent vituperet, quandoquidem, ut aiunt quidam non insipientium, nihil est ab omni parte beatum. Non equidem me latet quosdam qui Ulpricum legerunt, et tabulam Dionysii viderunt, aliter in quibusdam sen-

* Tempore autem Gerlandi facta est eclypsis solis, anno Domini secundum ipsum M.lxxx.vi., licet tabulam superiorem prius incepit. Bibl. Bodl. MS. Digby, No. 40, fol. 49, v°.

† MS. Cotton. Vespas. A. IX.

tire quam ego; sed siquis Bedam perlegerit, et naturalem compotum tenere voluerit, hic ut arbitror partim auctoritati, partim artis naturæ adquiescens, non indigne feret hic quædam posita quæ obviare viderunt Dionysio, quædam autem quæ Ulprico. Nec in hoc tantum eos censeo per omnia redarguendos, si in aliquam partem operis somnus obrepserit, quia spiritus ubi vult spirat, aliquando autem ut ardentius quæratur subterfugit.

Gerland was also the author of a treatise on the Abacus, the system of arithmetical calculation which had made so much noise since it was brought into fashion by Gerbert. This tract is preserved in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.*

Bale is the only authority for placing as contempory with Gerland a monk of Malmsbury named Oliver, who, he says, was so profoundly learned in mathematics that his contemporaries regarded him as a magician. Bale gives as the titles of his books, *Astrologorum dogmata*, lib. i. *De planetarum signis*, lib. i. *De Geomantia*, lib. i. and says that he flourished in 1060. There are at present no traces of such works having ever existed.

ROBERT BISHOP OF HEREFORD.

Among the more distinguished of king William's foreign bishops was Robert of Hereford, a native of Lorraine, whence he is sometimes called Robertus Losinga. After having made great progress in natural and mathematical science, he is said to have taught for some time in the schools in Flanders. He was brought to England with other scholars by king William some time after the

* Fonds de St. Victor, No. 533. See the very interesting Explications des Traités de l'Abacus, by M. Chasles, (read before the Académie des Sciences in January and February 1843,) p. 38.

Conquest, and appears to have settled at Worcester, where he was ordained a priest by bishop Wulstan, with whom, during the remainder of that prelate's life, he lived on terms of the warmest friendship. In 1079, Robert was chosen to fill the vacant see of Hereford, to which he was consecrated by Lanfranc on the 29th of December. During the petty wars on the Welsh border, the cathedral of Hereford had been reduced almost to a heap of ruins, and one of Robert's first cares was to rebuild it in a style worthy to contain the shrine of St. Ethelred. He took for his model the church of Aix-la-Chapelle, which had been originally built by Charlemagne.* Wulstan spent much of his leisure in the society of bishop Robert, and it is related, as a proof of their affectionate regard for each other, that, when Wulstan lay on his death-bed at the beginning of the year 1095, Robert, who was attending the court, dreamt that his friend came to tell him of his approaching end, and to request that he would hasten to Worcester to see him before he died, or at least to give the directions for his funeral. Robert obeyed the call, but, when he had nearly reached the end of his journey, he again saw Wulstan in a dream, who told him that he was already dead; he added, that Robert should prepare for his own death, as he would not long survive him, and that, in testimony of the truth of this prediction, he would receive a gift in remembrance of their friendship, which he would immediately recognise. After having performed the last duties to his friend, as Robert was mounting his horse to depart, the prior of Worcester came to offer him Wulstan's favourite cap, lined with lamb's wool; he recognised the sign which Wulstan had promised him, went

* Qui ibi ecclesiam tereti ædificavit schemate, Aquensem basilicam pro modo imitatus suo. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 286.

soon afterwards to Hereford, and died there on the 26th of June following.* Bishop Robert was one of the prelates who took part most decidedly with the king against archbishop Anselm, in the council of 1095, a short time before his own death.

Robert was looked upon as one of the most distinguished men of science of the latter part of the eleventh century; and it is said that he excelled in the knowledge of the abacus, of the lunar computus, and of the courses of the celestial bodies.† The work to which he owed most of his reputation was an abridgment of the chronicle, or rather of the chronology, of Marianus Scotus. Marianus was a German monk who had devoted himself to the study of chronology, and had first observed the discrepancies between the calculations of Dionysius Exiguus and the dates of the sacred writers; he had undertaken the laborious task of collating and correcting the works of former chronographers, and reducing them to order. As soon as this work was published, which was in or shortly after the year 1082, bishop Robert obtained a copy, and immediately undertook to abridge and perfect it. We are informed by William of Malmsbury, that he executed his task with so much skill and judgment, that the abridgment was worthy to supersede the too extensive and diffuse original.‡ In fact, there appear to be reasons for doubting if the chronicle now known and printed as that of Marianus Scotus be anything more than Robert's abridgment.§

* W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 286.

† Omnium liberalium artium peritissimus, abacum præcipue, et lunarem computum, et cœlestium astrorum cursum rimatus. W. Malmsb. ib. Simeon of Durham Hist. Eccl. Dunelm. ap. Decem Script. col. 210, gives a similar account, and praises his great learning.

‡ Denique captus Mariani ingenio quicquid ille largius dixerat, in arctum contrahens defloravit, adeo splendide, ut magis valere videatur defloratio quam ingentis illius voluminis diffusio. W. Malmsb. ib.

§ See Wharton, Angl. Sac. vol. i. pref. p. xxiv; Tanner, p. 636; and the

The old bibliographers also attribute to this prelate, besides some theological works (especially several commentaries on portions of the Holy Scriptures), a work on the motions of the stars, another on the Computus, and a collection of Mathematical Tables. These titles are probably merely founded on the words of William of Malmsbury. The writers of the Histoire Littéraire de France seem to think him the author of a treatise on the Computus, which has been attributed to Marianus Scotus.

WILLIAM BISHOP OF DURHAM.

This prelate appears to have been a native of Bayeux, to the church of which he was attached, until he left it to become a monk of St. Calais au Maine (Sancti Karilefi), whence he became commonly known by the name of Gulielmus de Sancto Karilefo. After being promoted to the rank of prior in this monastery, he was elected to be abbot of that of St. Vincent du Mans,* and was at last, in 1080, brought to England to succeed Walcher as bishop of Durham. He was consecrated on the third of January, 1081. In 1089 he incurred the displeasure of king William Rufus, for the part he had taken in the intrigues of bishop Odo, and was obliged to

Hist. Lit. de France, vol. viii. p. 417. A copy bearing the name of Robert as the compiler is preserved in the Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 594; the twentieth year of William the Conqueror, i. e. 1086, is there spoken of as being the *present* year, or that in which it was written.

* Ex clero Bajocensis ecclesiæ in monasterio Sancti Karilephi monachico habitu suscepto, primo prior claustri, postmodum abbas est effectus in monasterio Sancti Vincentii. Simeon. Dun. Hist. Dunelm. eccl. p. 343. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 277, calls him erroneously Abbas Sancti Karilephi.

fly to Normandy, where he remained in exile till September, 1091. On his return he recovered entirely the king's favour, and was the chief of the bishops who supported him against Anselm, in the assembly of Rockingham, in 1095. Soon after this he again incurred the king's displeasure; but he appears to have been more sincerely reconciled with Anselm, who by his express desire attended on his death-bed. Bishop William died at Gloucester, on the second of January 1096, and was buried at Durham.

William of Malmsbury has preserved a story which appears to have been current among Anselm's partizans, who said that the bishop of Durham had aspired to the see of Canterbury, and that he joined the king against Anselm in the hope that he would be deposed, and thát the king would then have appointed him to be his successor.* The old writers state, however, that he was generally esteemed and beloved. He laboured much for the improvement of his church and diocese. Simeon of Durham speaks of a collection of his letters written to the monks of Durham while in exile, which was extant in his time, but they appear now to be lost. The history of his exile, preserved in a manuscript at Durham, which has by some been attributed to him, was written apparently by one of his companions. It is printed in the appendix to Bedford's edition of Simeon of Durham.

* W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 277.

OSMUND BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Osmund was by birth a Norman, a kinsman of William the Conqueror, and was in his own country count of Sees, in England earl of Dorset. He was also chancellor of England.* In 1077 he was chosen to succeed Hereman as bishop of Salisbury, and he completed the cathedral which Hereman had begun. As a bishop, Osmund appears to have retired much from the world, and to have lived chiefly in the society of the learned canons whom he had drawn together by his liberality. He collected for his church a noble library; and it is stated, as a proof of his humility, that he not only copied books himself, but that he even bound them with his own hands.† He died on the third or fourth of December, 1099; authorities differ as to the day. Osmund is said to have written a life of Aldhelm, which is not now extant. He also compiled a ritual for the use of his church, of which Bale has evidently made two titles of different works, *Canones Officiorum Ecclesiæ*, and *Consuetudinarium Ecclesiæ*. This became afterwards the celebrated liturgy *ad usum Sarum*, which was followed by a large portion of the English clergy.‡

* See Sir R. C. Hoare's History of Wiltshire, City of Salisbury, pp. 8, 9.

† Librorum copia conquisita, cum episcopus ipse nec scribere nec scriptos ligare fastidiret. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 250.

‡ Higden, Polychron. lib. vii. fol. 201, r°. (MS. Arund. No. 86.) Hic quoque composuit ordinalem ecclesiastici officii quem Consuetudinarium vocant, quo fere nunc tota Anglia, Wallia utitur et Hibernia. Dictavit etiam Vitam Sancti Aldelmi. The Ordinale of bishop Osmund is still preserved in the library of Salisbury Cathedral. See Wiltshire, City of Salisbury, p. 715.

THOMAS ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

Thomas of York was considered one of the most learned prelates of the end of the eleventh century. He was the brother of Samson bishop of Worcester, and son of a married priest of Bayeux in Normandy. Under the patronage and by the encouragement of Odo bishop of Bayeux, Thomas studied at Bec as well as at some of the German schools, and he is said even to have visited Spain in order to make himself acquainted with the learning of the Arabs.* This is somewhat doubtful. We know with more certainty that in the sequel Odo made him canon and treasurer of the church of Bayeux, and that he accompanied that prelate to England. In 1070 William the Conqueror made him archbishop of York, and he immediately became involved in the controversy with Lanfranc in defence of the independence of his see. When he accompanied Lanfranc to Rome, the same year, he was accused of being the son of a priest, and was only allowed to retain his see by Lanfranc's intercession. At York he found the ruins of a cathedral, with only three almost houseless canons; but he soon collected around him a body of learned clergy, and he rebuilt the cathedral on a magnificent scale. He was accused by his successors of having wasted the patrimony of his church on these objects.† In 1089, after Lanfranc's death, archbishop Thomas consecrated Anselm as his successor; and in August of 1100 he officiated at the coronation of Henry I,

* Stubbs, de Pont. Eborac. col. 1705, who says, "pectus suum Hispanicarum fecit armarium scientiarum." I doubt if this refers to the learning of the Arabs. Stubbs and William of Malmsbury are the chief authorities for the life of archbishop Thomas.

† W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 273.

Anselm being then in exile. He died on the 18th of November following.

We have little left to attest the literary abilities of Thomas of York. A letter from him to the archbishop of Canterbury is printed among the letters of Lanfranc; and another, written in 1084, in which he bears witness to his miraculous cure at the shrine of St. Cuthbert, is preserved in the annals of Roger de Hoveden. The latter is a remarkable proof of credulity in a man whom William of Malmsbury compares with the ancient philosophers.* He was particularly attached to church music, and spent much of his time in composing hymns and chants. It has been supposed that some of these still exist in the old liturgies. It is further remarked of him that, whenever he heard any new and popular secular song or ballad sung by the minstrels, he immediately composed sacred parodies on the words to be sung to the same tune.† The only specimen now extant of his poetical talents is the following epitaph on the death of William the Conqueror, preserved by Ordericus Vitalis.‡

> Qui rexit rigidos Normannos, atque Britannos
>   Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
> Et Cenomannenses virtute coercuit enses,
>   Imperiique sui legibus applicuit,
> Rex magnus parva jacet hic Guillelmus in urna,
>   Sufficit et magno parva domus domino.
> Ter septem gradibus se volverat atque duobus
>   Virginis in gremiis Phœbus, et hic obiit.

* Philosophus antiquis scientia comparandus. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 273.

† Nec cantu nec voce minor, multa ecclesiastica composuit carmina: si quis in auditu ejus arte joculatoria aliquid vocale sonaret, statim illud in divinas laudes effigiabat. W. Malmsb. ib. Conf. Stubbs, col. 1709.

‡ Lib. viii. p. 663, (ed Duchesne.)

OSBERN OF CANTERBURY.

Of the life of Osbern very little is known further than that, as he informs us himself, he was born at Canterbury, and that he received his education in the monastery of that city. He was ordained by Lanfranc, and was appointed successively præcentor and superior of his house. It appears from his writings that he was present when the cathedral of Canterbury was burnt in 1070. It is probable that he did not die before the end of the eleventh, or the beginning of the twelfth century; but the year is unknown. We learn, however, from an old obituary of Canterbury, that the day of his death was the 28th of November.*

Osbern appears to have enjoyed the esteem of his contemporaries for his learning and talents. He is said to have been very skilful in music.† We learn, however, from the Introduction to his Life of Dunstan, that his favourite occupation was translating the lives of the English saints from Anglo-Saxon into Latin, in which he was encouraged by the exhortations of his fellow-monks. After the elevation of Lanfranc to the see of Canterbury, some dispute had arisen relating to the sanctity of archbishop Alfege (who had been murdered by the Danish invaders); it ended in his being acknowledged by the Normans as a saint and martyr, and Lanfranc employed Osbern first to write a hymn or anthem to his memory, and afterwards to gather together the materials for his

* These facts are collected together by Wharton, Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. præf. p. viii.

† Plura et non contemnenda de viro [Dunstano] volentem dicere revocat Cantuariæ cantor Osbernus, qui ejus vitam Romana elegantia composuit, nulli nostro tempore stylo secundus, musica certe omnium sine controversia primus. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. lib. ii. p. 56. Again, speaking of Gotcelin, he says of him, "Musicæ porro palmam post Osbernum adeptus." De Gest. Reg. lib. iv. p. 130.

life, which latter was perhaps not finished until after the primate's death. He gives the following account of the mode in which he performed this undertaking; it will serve as a specimen of his style, which was so much praised by William of Malmsbury.

Sane veritatem rerum ita polliceor; ut nulla me, sublato si quis infuerit splendore verborum, dicturum profitear, quæ non aut ab iis qui viderunt, aut a videntibus audierunt, acceperim, et eis fide simul et auctoritate plurimum præstantibus. Quorum quidem vocabula iccirco sponte refugio; quoniam dicendi primitias barbaricis appellationibus decolorare nolo. Aliqua tamen de his rebus non incommode scripta inveni; quorum sententias exinde assumptas præsenti scripturæ congruo ordine inserenda judicavi. Illius itaque freti auxilio, cujus gratuita bonitate sumus quicquid bene sumus, cujus largiflua miseratione sapimus quicquid bene sapimus, tangamus psalterium, tangamus et cytharam. In altero sempiternam martyris gloriam exultando prædicemus; in altero corporales ejus passiones imitando veneremur. Ac quemadmodum præcipiente invictissimo totius Latinitatis magistro Lanfranco archiepiscopo, musica virum modulatione dudum extulimus; sic cogentibus iis quas diximus rationum causis, oratoria eundem narratione extollamus.

We have also a Life of St. Dunstan, and a collection of his posthumous miracles, by this writer; and lives of Bregwin and Odo, archbishops of Canterbury, which have been attributed to him, though others have ascribed the first to John of Tynemouth, and the latter to Eadmer. The question of their authorship appears to be very doubtful. In a manuscript in Corpus Christi college, Cambridge (No. 161) a Life and Miracles of king Edward the Confessor are ascribed to Osbern. Bale and Pits make him the author of other works, but, as the only references they give appear to be quite erroneous, the titles hardly deserve to be repeated. His treatise on music, if he wrote one, is lost. This Osbern is supposed to be the author of the second and fifth letters of the third book of Anselm's Epistles.

Editions.

Acta Sanctorum Aprilis. Tomus II. Antverpiæ, 1675. fol. pp. 631—642. Vita Sancti Elphegi, auctore Osberno ecclesiæ Cantuariensis monacho. Ex MS. Codice S. Mariæ Bonifontis.

Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti. Sæculum V. Luteciæ Parisiorum,

1685. fol. pp. 287—296, Vita S. Odonis. pp. 654—688, Vita Sancti Dunstani archiepiscopi Cantuariensis. Auctore Osberno Cantuariensi monacho sæculo XI. pp. 689—701, Incipit Liber Miraculorum ejusdem. Auctore eodem Osberno monacho.

Acta Sanctorum Maii. Tomus IV. Antverpiæ, 1685. fol. pp. 359—384. Alia vita [S. Dunstani] auctore Osberno præcentore Cantuariensi. Ex MS. Antverpiensi et Bonifontis.

Anglia Sacra (edited by H. Wharton.) Pars secunda. Lond. 1691. fol. pp. 75—77. Vita S. Bregwini, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, authore (ut videtur) Osberno. pp. 78—87, Vita Odonis, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, auctore (ut videtur) Osberno. pp. 88—121, Vita S. Dunstani, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, authore Osberno monacho et præcentore Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis. pp. 127—147, Vita S. Elphegi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, authore Osberno.

INGULF.

Ingulf was by birth an Englishman, and, having obtained the favour of William the Conqueror, then duke of Normandy, was made his scribe or secretary. He afterwards visited Jerusalem, became a monk and subsequently prior of Fontinelle under abbot Gerbert, and was recalled to his native country by king William, to succeed Ulfketel as abbot of Croyland, who had been deprived of his office by the Normans in 1075. After having presided over this ancient and celebrated monastic establishment during nearly thirty-five years in a period of trouble and difficulty, he died on the 17th of December, 1109.*

These facts we gather from Ordericus Vitalis, who was well acquainted with the affairs of Croyland, where he appears to have been residing about the year 1112, three years after Ingulf's death.† In the History of Croyland published under Ingulf's name, he is made to give a more detailed account of his own history. He says that his

* Orderic. Vital. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. p. 287 (ed. Le Prevost.) The duration of his abbacy, as given in Le Prevost's text, xxv. must be an error for xxxv. According to Ordericus the date of his death was the 16 kal. Dec. i. e. Novemb. 16.

† Ordericus, ib. p. 289.

parents were citizens of London, who sent him when a child to the school at Westminster, from whence he was removed to the university of Oxford; "and, when I had made greater proficiency in Aristotle than many of those of my own age, I also studied profoundly the first and second books of the rhetoric of Tully." As he grew up, he continues, he became ashamed of the mean estate of his parents, and *left them*, in order to frequent the court, where his taste for pomp and finery increased every day. It was at this time (i. e. 1051) that William duke of Normandy visited the English court, and he took Ingulf into his family in the quality of a scribe. Accompanying his new master, on his return to Normandy, he tells us that he rose so high in the favour of duke William that he ruled the whole court at his will, raising or humiliating whom he would, which excited the envy and jealousy of the other courtiers. In 1064, he tells us, he joined the expedition to Jerusalem, consisting of seven thousand pilgrims. At Constantinople they performed their reverence *to the emperor Alexis*, and, after being attacked and plundered in their way through Lycia, arrived at Jerusalem, where they were received by the patriarch Sophronius. On his return to Normandy Ingulph became a monk at Fontinelle.*

Doubts have long been entertained of the authenticity of the history published under the name of Ingulf.† Nearly all the charters inserted in his work are forgeries, which must have been fabricated either in Ingulf's time or subsequently; and, even in the former case, he must have been aware of their character, and would hardly have published them ostentatiously. His narrative, the groundwork of which appears to have been the common historians of those times, is full of errors and anachronisms,

* Ingulfi Hist. p. 73, ed. Gale.

† The doubtful character of this History was first pointed out by Sir Francis Palgrave, in an article in the Quarterly Review.

even in the events of the age in which he lived.* The writer appears also to have used books, such as the Life of Hereward, compiled subsequently to the time at which Ingulf flourished. There are many other circumstances connected with the book which concur to strengthen our suspicions. Even the account of the author is perhaps a mere amplification of that given by Ordericus Vitalis. It appears too vain-glorious to have been written by himself. The account of Ingulf's education is evidently fabulous; his studying Aristotle at Oxford indicates the thirteenth or fourteenth, rather than the eleventh century; and an anecdote of his childhood which he is made to relate in another place seems to contradict the description he gives above of his father's station, when he states that while at school he used to visit his father, *who resided at court,* and there he became known to the queen, Edith, who argued questions with him in logic.† He speaks of visiting the emperor Alexis at Constantinople in 1064 (which is known from other sources to have been the date of the pilgrimage that Ingulf is stated to have accompanied); yet Alexis Comnenus did not ascend the throne of Constantinople till 1081. It is quite impossible that Ingulf himself could have fallen into such an error as this, who in the same place speaks of William the Conqueror as reigning when he wrote, so that it may be doubted if Ingulf could at that time have known that Alexis had been crowned emperor; it is more probably the fault of a compiler, who confounded the expedition alluded

* See the account given by Lappenberg, Geschichte von England, vol. i. pp. lxiii. lxiv.

† Vidi ego illam multotiens, cum patrem meum in regis curia morantem adhuc puer inviserem, et sæpius mihi de scholis venienti de literis ac versu meo apponebat, cum occurrerem, et libentissime de grammatica solidate ad logicam levitatem, qua callebat, declinans, cum argumentorum subtili ligamine me conclusisset, semper tribus aut quatuor nummis per ancillulam numeratis ad regium penu transmisit, et refectum dimisit. Ingulfi Histor. p. 62.

to with that of Peter the Hermit. A difficulty in ascertaining the date at which this work was compiled arises from the circumstance that no manuscript of any antiquity is now known to exist;* but it has been supposed not to be older than the fourteenth century. It is not impossible that the compiler has interwoven into his text some fragments written by Ingulf; in which case we might probably attribute to him the description of the fire in 1091. But it is singular that neither Ordericus Vitalis, (who had been at Croyland, and was diligent in searching for historical documents,) nor William of Croyland, who wrote the life of earl Waltheof, and who mentions on three occasions the removal of the body of the earl by Ingulf † (which is also described in the history attributed to Ingulf ‡), should have been aware that Ingulf was the author of a history of Croyland, if he ever had written such a book. It is stated in the history of Croyland that its reputed author, Ingulf, also wrote a life of St. Guthlac; but no such work is known to exist, nor is it mentioned elsewhere. If the history be a forgery, its object probably was to support the claims of the abbots of Croyland in their law-suits with the monks of Spalding.

The account of the life of Ingulf previous to his settlement in the abbey of Fontinelle deserves to be quoted as a specimen of the Pseudo-Ingulf's Latinity.

Ego enim Ingulfus humilis magister S. Guthlaci monasteriique sui Croilandensis, natus in Anglia, et a parentibus Anglicis, quippe urbis pulcherrimæ Londoniarum, pro literis addiscendis in teneriori ætate constitutus, primum Westmonasterio, postmodum Oxoniensi studio traditus eram. Cumque in Aristotile arripiendo supra multos coætaneos meos profecissem, etiam Rhe-

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* There is a transcript of the latter part of the sixteenth century among the Arundel MSS. in the British Museum, No. 178, which was evidently the copy from which Savile printed his edition. The MS. used by Gale is said to exist in the library at Holkham.

† Will. Monac. Croiland. Vita et Passio Waldevi comitis, ap. Chroniques Anglo-Normandes, vol. ii. pp. 101, 118, 122.

‡ Ingulfi Hist. p. 102.

toricam Tullii primam et secundam talo tenus induebam. Factus ergo adolescentior, fastidiens parentum meorum exiguitatem, paternos lares relinquere, et palatia regum aut principum affectans, mollibus vestiri pomposisque laciniis amiciri indies ardentius appetebam. Et ecce inclytus nunc rex noster Angliæ, tunc adhuc comes Normanniæ Wilhelmus, ad colloquium tunc regis Angliæ Edwardi, cognati sui, cum grandi ministrantium comitatu Londonias adventabat. Quibus citius insertus, ingerens me ubique ad omnia emergentia negotia peragenda, cum prospere plurima perfecissem, in brevi agnitus illustrissimo comiti et astrictissime adamatus, cum ipso Normanniam enavigabam. Factus ibidem scriba ejus, pro libito totam comitis curiam ad nonnullorum invidiam regebam, quosque volui humiliabam, et quos volui exaltabam. Cumque juvenili calore impulsus in tam celso statu supra meos natales consistere tæderem, quin semper ad altiora conscendere instabili animo ac nimium prurienti affectu ad erubescentiam ambitiosus avidissime desiderarem, nuntiatur per universam Normanniam plurimos archiepiscopos imperii cum nonnullis aliis terræ principibus velle pro merito animarum suarum more peregrinorum cum debita devotione Hierosolymam proficisci. De familia ergo comitis domini nostri plurimi tam milites quam clerici, quorum primus et præcipuus ego eram, cum licentia et domini nostri comitis benevolentia in dictum iter nos omnes accinximus; et Alamanniam petentes, equites triginta numero et amplius, domino Maguntino conjuncti sumus. Parati namque omnes ad viam et cum dominis episcopis connumerati septem millia, pertranseuntes prospere multa terrarum spatia, tandem Constantinopolim pervenimus, ubi Alexim imperatorem ejus adorantes, Agiosophiam vidimus, et infinita sanctuaria osculati sumus. Divertentes inde per Lyciam, in manus Arabicorum latronum incidimus, evisceratique de infinitis pecuniis, cum mortibus multorum, et maximo vitæ nostræ periculo vix evadentes, tandem desideratissimam civitatem Hierosolymam læto introitu tenebamus. Ab ipso tunc patriarcho, Sophronio nomine, viro veneranda canitie honestissimo ac sanctissimo, grandi cymbalorum tonitru et luminarium immenso fulgore suscepti, ad divinissimam ecclesiam sanctissimi sepulchri tam Syrorum quam Latinorum solenni processione deducti sumus. Ibi quot preces inoravimus, quot lachrymas inflevimus, quot suspiria inspiravimus, solus ejus inhabitator novit Dominus noster Jesus Christus. Ab ipso itaque gloriosissimo sepulchro Christi ad alia sanctuaria civitatis invisenda circumducti, infinitam summam sanctarum ecclesiarum et oratorium, quæ Achim soldanus dudum destruxerat, oculis lachrymosis vidimus; et omnibus ruinis sanctissimæ civitatis tam extra quam intra numerosis lachrymis intimo affectu compassi, ad quorundam restaurationem datis non paucis pecuniis, exire in patriam et sacratissimo Jordane intingi universaque Christi vestigia osculari desiderantissima devotione suspirabamus. Sed Arabum latrunculi, qui omnem viam observabant, longius a civitate evagari sua rabiosa multitudine innumera non sinebant. Vere igitur accidente, stolus navium Januensium in porta Joppensi applicuit, in quibus cum sua mercimonia Christiani mercatores per civitatis maritimas commutassent, et sancta loca similiter adorassent. Ascendentes omnes, mari nos commisimus, et jactati fluctibus et procellis innumeris tandem Brundusium appulimus.

The history of Ingulf embraces the whole period from the first foundation of Croyland to the year of Ingulf's death, after which we have an equally spurious continuation, attributed to the celebrated Peter of Blois. An edition was first printed by Sir Henry Savile from a manuscript which was incomplete at the end, and a complete edition was wanting till that of Fell appeared in the third volume of Gale's *Scriptores*. It is not known with certainty what became of the manuscript from which this edition was printed.

Editions.

Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipui, ex vetustissimis codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum in lucem editi (by Sir Henry Savile). Londinis, 1596, fol. Reprinted, Francofurti, 1601. fol. pp. 850—916. Ingulphi Historia.

Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum veterum. [Gale] Tom. I. Quorum Ingulfus nunc primum integer, cæteri nunc primum prodeunt. fol. Oxoniæ, 1684. pp. 1—107. Historia Ingulfi.

GODFREY OF WINCHESTER.

Godfrey, prior of St. Swithin's at Winchester, was one of the most accomplished of the Norman writers who settled in England after the conquest. He is said to have been a native of Cambrai, but nothing further is known of his personal history, until he succeeded Simon as prior of Winchester in the year 1082.* In the twenty-five years during which Godfrey held this office he was remarkable for his attachment to literature, for the holiness of his life, and for the unremitting attention he gave to the interests of his house, which was benefited as much by the example of his virtues as by the prudence with

* Annales Eccl. Winton. ap. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. vol. i. p. 294.

which he administered its worldly concerns, and the donations which he conferred upon it.* He died in 1107.† It is remarked that the steeple of his church fell on the day of his decease.

Godfrey of Winchester was the first and best of the Anglo-Norman writers of Latin verse; in such of his works as are now extant, he rises more successfully than any other poet of his own or the succeeding age above the barbarisms of medieval style, and in some of his epigrams he approaches nearly to the purity of Martial, who was his model. William of Malmsbury, in addition to other writings of which he has not preserved the titles, mentions his Epistles, composed "in that familiar and sweet style," his epigrams, and his verses "in praise of the primates of England."‡ The last two of these works are all which are now known to exist, and are found in a manuscript in the Cottonian library, and in two manuscripts at Oxford.§ Camden first drew attention to the merits of Godfrey's epigrams, and printed some of them in his "Remaines." They are arranged in several series,

* See William of Malmsb. Hist. lib. v. p. 173. The Annals of Winchester, loc. cit. call Godfrey "vir perfectæ bonitatis et pietatis," and add, "Quantæ autem discretionis et bonitatis et caritatis prædicti præpositi Simeon et Godefridus fuerint, testantur quæ adhuc sunt in Wintoniensi ecclesia illorum donaria." The epitaph printed by Tanner from a MS. at Oxford, says,—

> "Wintoniæ monachos prior utpote semper amandus
> Rebus ditavit, moribus excoluit."

† A. MCVII. Godefridus prior Wintoniensis venerabilis memoriæ decessit. Annal. Eccl. Wint. p. 297. The epitaph in Tanner thus records the day of his death:

> "Sol erat in Geminis, et erat Cancrum subiturus
> Post sex inde dies, cum Godefridus obit."

‡ Literarum protestantur libri plures, et epistolæ familiari illo et dulci stylo editæ, maximeque epigrammata quæ satirico modo absolvit, præterea versus de primatum Angliæ laudibus. W. Malmsb. Hist. lib. v. p. 173.

§ MS. Cotton. Vitellius A. XII. and in the Bodleian Library, MSS. Digby, No. 65, and Digby No. 112.

two, four, six, and eight lines each, their object being to inculcate moral sentiments, or to ridicule or satirize either the personal vices of some of his contemporaries, or the general vices of his time. The following specimens will give a notion of his distichs:

Pauca utilia multis inutilibus proponenda.

Pauca Titus pretiosa dabat, sed vilia plura;
Ut meliora habeam pauca det oro Titus.

Neque decipere neque decipi.

Nullum decipias nec decipiaris ab ullo,
Fallere vel falli, Pirame, par vitium est.

Exitus rerum inspiciendos.

Aut sapit Archesilas et prospicit ultima rerum,
Aut si contemnit non sapit Archesilas.

In the following tetrastich, Godfrey enforces the gospel doctrine of doing to others as we would wish to be done by:

Quæ aliis feceris ab eis expectare eadem.

Jurgia, clamores tibi gloria, gloria lites,
Et facis et dicis omnibus unde noces;
Expectas eadem quæ nobis feceris, Albi,
Nam quem tu lædis te ferit ille libens.

In another, he amplifies a well-known proverb:

Locum mores non mutare.

Serpentem innocuum faciunt deserta locorum,
Non quia virus abest, sed quia cui noceat;
Dat virus natura, locus non, ergo recedens
Tu virus tecum, Gratidiane, feres.

In a third he describes the vicissitudes of human life:

Vitam hominis variam esse.

Alternis vicibus mutantur tempora mundi,
Temperies cœli, Plaute, vices patitur;
Sic alternatur humanæ formula vitæ,
Tristibus et lætis assimulata ruit.

The lines on Lanfranc may be given as a specimen of Godfrey's collection of epigrams on some of the great men of his time.

De Lanfranco archiepiscopo.

Vixisti, venerande pater, sapienter et æque,
 Vixisti vivens, mors quoque vita tibi.
Inter divitias pauper, Lanfrance, fuisti,
 Divitiis manans pauperum amator eras.
Quæ te florentes artes valuere Latinæ,
 Græcia de nobis ecce triumphat ovans.
Tu Latios ortu Gallosque docendo levasti,
 Te sibi primatem cardo Britannus habet.
In terra degens cœlestia mente petebas,
 Exemptus terra sidera liber adis.
Sol Geminos denis obsederat igne diebus,
 Promsit luna diem, nocte solutus abis.

Tanner indicates one or two other small pieces which have been attributed to Godfrey of Winchester, but apparently without any good reason. His epigrams have not yet been printed.*

LUCIAN OF CHESTER.

Among the manuscripts in the Bodleian library,† a book is preserved, which purports to have been written by a monk of Chester, who names himself Lucianus, and which is entitled *De Laudibus Cestriæ*, (On the Praises of Chester.) This treatise is curious as being the earliest attempt we know at writing the history or description of a town. It is supposed to have been written about the year 1100, and the manuscript is perhaps contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with that date. Unfortunately, the chief ornaments of Chester in the eyes of the author of this book were its monks; and, after giving a few desultory chapters on the city, its gates, streets, and churches, he proceeds to the monastery of St. Werburgh,

* Articles on Godfrey of Winchester will be found in Leyser, Hist. Poet. Med. Æv. p. 371, and in the Hist. Lit. de Fr. tom. ix. p. 352.

† MS. Bodley, No. 672.

the praises of which, and of the clerks, monks, bishop, abbot, prior, sub-prior, &c. take up by much the larger part of the book. Nothing further is known of the writer; but it is pretended that he was the author of another historical work, entitled *Instrumentum Historicum Angliæ.** The following extract, which contains the commencement of the description of Chester, will serve as a specimen of the character of this book.

Primo videndum quod Cestria, id est, quæ ædificatur ut civitas cujus positio invitat aspectum, quæ in occiduis Britanniæ posita, legionibus ex longinquo venientibus receptoria quondam ad repausandum fuit, et Romani servans limitem imperii, claves, ut ita dixerim, Hibernorum custodire sufficit. Nam contra aquilonare cornu Hiberniæ opposita, non tam crebro quam continue ob causas meantium et commoda mercium diversarum, velis aptatis viam aperit cursibus navium atque nautarum; dumque orientem versus prætendit intuitu non solum Romanam ante se cathedram et imperium verum et orbem prospicit universum, ut tanquam spectaculum proposita sint obtutibus oculorum fortia facta patrum, series longissimi rerum, et quicquid in orbe quibusque personis, locis, temporibus, bene gestum est cognoscatur, quod male actum est caveatur. Quæ a ventis quatuor portas quatuor habens, ab oriente prospectat Indiam, ab occidente Hiberniam, ab Aquilone majorem Normanniam, a meridie eam quam divina severitas ob civiles et naturales discordias Britannis reliquit angularem angustiam. Qui olim discidiis et odiis amans Britanniam in Angliam mutaverit, et quibus adhuc moribus fulgeant qui vicinantur eis cum lacrimis legunt.

SÆWULF.

Within a few years after the Norman Conquest a traveller, whose name shows him to have been an Anglo-Saxon, visited the Holy Land, and wrote an account of his travels, which is still preserved. Sæwulf has left us no further information concerning himself than his name and the narrative of his wanderings; but William of

* Tanner, Biblioth. p. 487.

Malmsbury has preserved a story of a man of this name, who lived at the same time, and whose character seems so far to coincide with that of the traveller, that we can hardly hesitate in believing him to be the same person. William of Malmsbury tells us that Sæwulf was a merchant who frequently repaired to Wulstan of Worcester to confess his sins, and as frequently, when his fit of penitence was over, fell back into the same course of worldliness. Wulstan advised him to quit the profession in which he met with such continual temptations, and become a monk; and when he refused, the bishop prophecied that the time would arrive when he should take the habit in spite of his previous repugnance; "which," says the relator, "I afterwards saw fulfilled, for he was converted in our monastery in his old age, driven to it by disease."* It seems natural enough that the merchant, in a moment of penitence, should have undertaken a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to which people's attention had just been called by the first conquests of the crusaders. I think there is nothing in the narrative to lead us to believe that the traveller was a monk at the time he made the voyage; and he speaks in remarkable terms of his own failings.†

Sæwulf's narrative begins abruptly with his departure from Monopoli on the coast of Italy, on the 13th of July, 1102. A violent storm drove the pilgrims along the coast to Brindisi, where they were obliged to stay till their ship was repaired. Having again left the coast of Italy, Sæwulf passed by the Ionian islands, Corfu (July 24), and Cephalonia (Aug. 1) and arrived at Corinth on the 9th of August, from whence, passing by Stives, the ancient

* W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 282.

† Ego Sæwlfus, licet indignus et peccator, Jerosolimam pergens.. ..vel *pondere pressus peccaminum*, vel penuria navis, per altum pelagus transire nequivi. Prolog.

Thebes, he reached Negropont on the 23rd. Here the pilgrims embarked again, and, after touching at many of the islands of the Grecian archipelago, and suffering much from tempestuous weather, they landed at Joppen, or Jaffa, on the 12th of October. The next seven months were spent in visiting Jerusalem and the holy places from Gennesareth to Hebron, the account of which occupies the larger portion of Sæwulf's narrative. He left Jaffa on his return on the 17th of May, 1103, and, retracing partly the same route by which he had come, he went to Constantinople, where the narrative leaves him in the month of October.

The relation of Sæwulf is of small extent, and his latinity is rude and unpolished. It is valuable for a few points of historical and geographical information which it contains, and as a link in the chain of evidence relating to the holy sites. Only one manuscript of this book is known to exist; * from which it was edited by the learned geographer M. D'Avezac, who, in his Introduction, has investigated with remarkable penetration and erudition the dates of Sæwulf's wanderings and his geographical nomenclature. The description of the storm which he escaped on his first arrival at Jaffa, will give a notion of the latinity of the merchant-pilgrim.

Arrigite aures, carissimi, et audite misericordiam quam Dei clementia mihi, licet ultimo servo suo, meisque exhibuit. Nam eadem die qua appulimus, quidam dixit mihi, ut credo, deifice, "Domine, hodie litus ascende, ne forte nocte vel diluculo tempestate superveniente cras ascendere non possis." Quod dum audivi, statim captus desiderio ascendendi, naviculum conduxi, et cum omnibus meis ascendi. Me autem ascendente, mare turbabatur; crevit commotio et facta est tempestas valida, sed ad litus divina gratia favente perveni illæsus. Quid plura? Civitatem hospitandi causa intravimus, et longo labore victi atque lassati, refecti pausavimus. Mane vero, dum ab ecclesia venimus, sonitum maris audivimus, clamorem populi, omnesque concurrentes atque mirantes de talibus prius inauditis; nos autem

* MS. Corp. Chr. Coll. Cambr. No. 111.

timentes currendo simul cum aliis venimus ad litus; dum enim illuc pervenimus, vidimus tempestatem altitudinem superexcellere montium; corpora quidem innumerabilia hominum utriusque sexus summersorum in littore miserrime jacentia aspeximus; naves minutatim fractas juxta volutantes simul vidimus. Sed quis præter rugitum maris et fragorem navium quicquam audire potuit? Clamorem etiam populi, sonitumque omnium turbarum excessit. Navis autem nostra maxima atque fortissima, aliæque multæ frumento aliisque mercimoniis atque peregrinis venientibus atque redeuntibus oneratæ, anchoris funibusque adhuc in profundo utcunque detentæ, quomodo fluctibus jactabantur! quomodo mali metu incidebantur! quomodo mercimonia abjiciebantur! qualis oculus intuentium tam durus atque lapideus a fletu se posset retinere? Non diu illud aspeximus antequam violentia undarum vel fluctuum anchoræ lapserunt; funes vero rumpebantur; naves vero, severitate undarum laxatæ, omni spe evadendi erepta, nunc in altum elevatæ, nunc in ima detrusæ, paulatim de profunditate tandem in arenam vel in scopulos projiciebantur; ibi vero de latere in latus miserrime collidebantur, ibi minutatim a tempestate dilacerabantur; neque ferocitas ventorum in profundum reverti integras, neque altitudo arenæ sinebat eas ad litus pervenire illæsas. Sed quid attinet dicere quam flebiliter nautæ et peregrini, quidam navibus, quidam vero malis, quidam antennis, quidam autem transtris, omni spe evadendi privati, adhæserunt? Quid plura dicam? Quidam stupore consumpti ibidem dimersi sunt; quidam a lignis propriæ navis, quod incredibile multis videtur, adhærentes, me vidente, ibidem sunt obtruncati; quidam autem a tabulis navi evulsis iterum in profundum deportabantur; quidam autem natare scientes sponte se fluctibus commiserunt, et ita quamplures perierunt; perpauci quippe, propria virtute confidentes, ad litus illæsi pervenerunt. Igitur ex navibus triginta maximis, quarum quædam dromundi, quædam vero gulafri, quædam autem catti vulgariter vocantur, omnibus oneratis palmariis vel mercimoniis, antequam a litore discessissem, vix septem illæsæ permanserunt. Homines vero diversi sexus plusquam mille die illa perierunt: majorem etenim miseriam una die nullus vidit oculus; sed ab his omnibus sui gratia eripuit me Dominus, cui honor et gloria per infinita secula: Amen.

Edition.

Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires publiées par la Société de Géographie tom. iv. Paris, 1839, 4to. pp. 817—854. The Voyage of Sæwulf, edited, with a very learned and valuable Introduction, by M. D'Avezac.

GUNDULF.

Gundulf,* one of the most celebrated of our early Norman bishops, was born in the diocese of Rouen, and studied grammar at Rouen in his boyhood. His talents and behaviour procured him the friendship of William archdeacon of that church, and, through him, of the archbishop Maurilius.† In company with the archdeacon he undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and, being overtaken by a dangerous storm on their return, they both made vows to become monks if they escaped. They eventually reached Rouen in safety, and each hastening to fulfil his vow, Gundulf repaired to Bec to place himself under the rule of abbot Herluin and prior Lanfranc. It was there that he first made the acquaintance of Anselm, who entered the abbey of Bec the same year (A. D. 1059), and formed a friendship which lasted during his life. The amiable spirit of Gundulf soon rendered him a favourite with Lanfranc, who, when he became abbot of Caen, took him with him to assist in the management of that monastery.‡ William of Malmsbury has preserved a story which represents Lanfranc, while abbot of Caen, prophecying that his disciple Gundulf would one day be a bishop.§ When, in 1070, the abbot of Caen was promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury, he took Gundulf with him to England, and, well acquainted with his skill in domestic business, placed him over his own household.||

* An anonymous life of Gundulf, written by a monk of Rochester soon after his death, is printed in the Anglia Sacra, tom. ii. p. 273.

† Vita Gundulfi, p. 274.

‡ Ut secum in ejusdem cœnobii gubernatione coadjutorem haberet. Vita Gundulfi, p. 276.

§ W. Malmsb. de Vit. Pontif. lib. i. p. 233.

|| Et quia in rebus etiam exterioribus industrius valde erat, rei familiaris suæ procuratorem constituit. Vita Gundulfi, p. 276.

In this office Gundulf had the distribution of the archbishop's numerous charities, an occupation which appears to have been peculiarly suited to his taste, for his biographer descants frequently on the benevolence of his disposition.* Anselm now renewed by his letters the acquaintance which appears to have been broken off since Gundulf's departure from Bec. Some of Anselm's letters to Gundulf are still preserved among his correspondence.

In 1076 Lanfranc promoted Gundulf to the bishopric of Rochester, and he was consecrated on the 19th of March, 1077. He rebuilt his church, increased the number of monks, raised the monastery to a high state of prosperity, and was indefatigable in the defence and improvement of his diocese. Before his promotion to the bishopric, he had gained the good opinion of William the Conqueror; and he conducted himself with so much prudence in the disputes between Anselm and William Rufus, as neither to offend the king nor desert his friend.† He was a principal instrument in securing the crown to Henry I., whose favour and that of his queen Matilda he enjoyed during the remainder of his life. Gundulf died on the 8th of March, 1108, and was buried in the cathedral of Rochester. A time-worn and almost shapeless effigy in stone, still preserved there, is believed to have formerly adorned his tomb.

Although Gundulf was not distinguished as a writer,‡ he evidently possessed a love of letters and of art. One at least of his letters to Anselm is preserved, and several letters from Anselm prove that he must have written at least an equal number, which it is to be feared are now lost. Gundulf appears to have been an active assistant of

* Vita Gundulfi, pp. 276, 280, 284.

† Hist. Lit. de Fr. tom. ix. p. 369.

‡ Malmsbury says, Eratque Gundulfus religionis plenus, literarum non nescius, in rebus forensibus acer et elimatus.

Lanfranc in copying and correcting the ancient ecclesiastical writers. The authors of the Histoire Littéraire de France mention a large Bible written with his hand, which was sold at Amsterdam among the books of Herman van de Wal in 1734: at the beginning was inscribed *Prima pars Bibliæ per bonæ memoriæ Gundulphum Roffensem episcopum.** In modern times Gundulf's chief celebrity rests upon his skill as an architect. Besides the church of Rochester, he is said to have built for the king the formidable keep of Rochester castle, which became the model for most of the castles of his time.

GERARD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

GERARD was the nephew of Walchelin bishop of Winchester, and of Simeon abbot of Ely, and was therefore distantly related to the Conqueror. He was grand-chanter of the church of Rouen, and probably came to England at the invitation of his uncle bishop Walchelin, by whose interest he was made one of the chaplains to William Rufus. That king sent him with another of his chaplains to Rome to watch the proceedings of Anselm's friends, at the time of his quarrel with the archbishop. In 1096, Gerard was made bishop of Hereford; being then only subdeacon, he was ordained deacon and priest on the same day, and the day following was consecrated bishop.† Bishop Godwin says that he was chancellor of England. He was promoted to the archbishopric of York in 1100, on the death of archbishop Thomas, and went to Rome to receive the pallium.

Archbishop Gerard appears not to have been high in

* Hist. Lit. de Fr. tom. ix. p. 374. † Ib. p. 376.

favour with the English clergy of his time. William of Newbury accuses him of avarice. But a much more serious crime appears to have been his refusal to acknowledge the primacy of the archbishop of Canterbury, until he was persuaded by the king or terrified by the pope into a compliance.* It is probable also that he was attached to scientific studies, on which the more orthodox among his contemporaries were then accustomed to throw discredit. The writer just mentioned, who flourished about a century later, tells us that he was accused of practising sorcery,† and it is related as a thing disgraceful to his memory that after his death the astrological writings of Julius Firmicus were found under his pillow. He died unexpectedly, and while his household were occupied with different affairs, and consequently without confession and absolution. His clergy made this an excuse for refusing him burial within the church; he was committed ignobly to the ground without the doors, and his body was allowed to be insulted by those who were looking on.‡ His successor, however, ordered his remains to be disinterred, and buried them honourably beside his predecessors. His death occurred in 1108.

The writers of the Histoire Littéraire de France cite a poem as being preserved in the Cottonian Library, under the title of *Versus Girardi archiepiscopi Eboracensis;* but nothing of the sort appears now in the catalogue of this collection. Anselm speaks of this prelate as "vir admodum literatus."§ Three of Gerard's letters to Anselm are preserved among Anselm's Epistles and in Eadmer's History.

* W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. lib. iii. p. 273. W. Newbrig. De rebus Angl. lib. i. e. 3.

† Ut plurimi asseverunt, maleficiis etiam assuetus. W. Newbrig. ib.

‡ W. Malmsb. and W. Newbr. ib.

§ Anselmi Epist. lib. iv. ep. 2.

Minor Writers of the Eleventh Century.

Sulcard is known only as the writer of a short legendary history of the abbey of Westminster, of which he was a monk. As it is dedicated to the abbot Vitalis, it must have been written between 1076 and 1082; and the writer says that he saw the old monastery before it was pulled down and rebuilt by Edward the Confessor, which must have been early in that monarch's reign. Bale considered him to have been an Englishman; but the writers of the Histoire Littéraire de France are of opinion that he was a Norman, in which case he must have been one of the foreign clergy introduced into our island in the reign of the Confessor. Two copies of this tract are preserved in the British Museum.* Pits says, that in his time Sulcard's tombstone was still seen at Westminster with the inscription: *Sulcardus monachus et chronographus.*

Ricemarchus, bishop of St. David's, wrote a life of St. David, which was the foundation of all subsequent biographies of that saint. Of this author little is known: according to Wharton,† he was made bishop of St. David's about 1085, and he is said to have died in 1096. Several manuscripts of his life of St. David are preserved;‡ and a portion of it, containing matter not found in the life of the same saint by Giraldus Cambrensis, was printed by

* MSS. Cotton. Faustina, A. III. and Titus, A. VIII. It consists of six leaves. The writers of the Hist. Lit. de Fr. vol. viii. p. 138, supposed it to be a large book.

† Angl. Sacr. vol. ii. pref. p. xxv. Others say in 1088.

‡ One in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Vespas. A. XIV. two in the Bodleian Library, and one in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Wharton in the Anglia Sacra.* It is written in a very prolix and affected style.

Hemming, sub-prior of Worcester under bishop Wulstan, is known by the valuable chartulary of the church of Worcester which he compiled by Wulstan's directions. This chartulary contains some pieces of his own writing, particularly a brief memoir of his patron the bishop, written soon after his death, which has been printed by Wharton. The whole chartulary was afterwards published by Hearne.† Considerable extracts are also printed in the Monasticon.

Editions.

Anglia Sacra (edited by H. Wharton), pars prima. Lond. 1691, fol. p. 541. Vita S. Wlstani episcopi Wigorniensis. Auctore Hemmingo monacho Wigorniensi.

Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiæ Wigorniensis.. .descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius. Oxonii, 1723, 2 vols. 8vo.

Hamelinus of Verulam, prior of St. Alban's and a disciple of Lanfranc, compiled a book on the customs and government of monks, extracts from which are printed in the Thesaurus Anecdotorum of Martene and Durand.‡

Colman, a monk of Worcester, also wrote the life of bishop Wulstan. He was the bishop's chaplain during fifteen years, and signs a charter in 1089 (printed in the Monasticon) as his chancellor. He was subsequently made by Wulstan prior of Westbury,§ and according to Florence of Worcester died on the 4th of October, 1113, probably at a very advanced age. William of Malmsbury

* Angl. Sacr. vol. ii. pp. 645—647.

† The original is MS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. XIII.

‡ Thesaur. Anecd. tom. v. col. 1454.

§ W. Malmsb. de Vit. Wulstani, lib. iii. c. 10.

says that he wrote his life of Wulstan in English (i. e. in Anglo-Saxon).*

Alwin or Ailwin, an English hermit who is supposed to have lived at the end of the eleventh century, wrote a book said by Pits to be extant in the library of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, which he describes as "Librum quendam ad Herebertum episcopum Norwic."

Among the writers of lives of saints who flourished at this period we must not omit the name of Faritius, the writer of a life of Aldhelm frequently quoted by William of Malmsbury. He is said to have been a native of Tuscany, and to have been brought over to England by Lanfranc. He became first a monk of the abbey of Malmsbury, which he quitted to be made abbot of Abingdon in the year 1100. Faritius was a skilful physician, and as such is reported to have been high in the favour of the king. He is said to have written a book to prove that children dying without baptism could not be saved. Bale also attributed to him a collection of letters. His life of Aldhelm is extant, and was printed as an anonymous biography in the Acta Sanctorum, from a MS. in the Cottonian Library.† Faritius died in 1117.

One of the few Anglo-Saxon writers after the Conquest was Leofric of Brun, a priest in the service of Hereward. The writer of the Latin life of Hereward has preserved the

* Colmannus monachus vester, vir nec scientiæ imperitus, nec sermone patrio infacetus. Scripsit enim Anglice, ne gestorum avolaret memoria, vitam ejusdem patris; si attendas ad sensum, lepore gravi, si ad literam simplicitate rudi. W. Malmsb. De Vit. Wulst. ap. Angl. Sac. vol. ii. p. 242.

† Acta Sanctorum Maii, tom. vi. p. 84. See the authorities for the account of Faritius, in Tanner, p. 273.

name of this man from oblivion; he says that he wrote the history of Hereward's youth, and that it was his favourite occupation to collect together the romantic legends of his country, and commit them to writing in his native tongue.*

WARNIER, or GARNIER, who from his writings obtained the title of *homeliarius*, was a monk of Westminster, and dedicated his homilies, which appear now to be lost, to Gilbert Crispin. We learn from Thomas of Ely that he was present, and then very aged, at the translation of the body of St. Withburg in October, 1106. Besides his collection of homilies or sermons for the whole year, he is said to have written *Deflorationes SS. Patrum*, which is supposed to be the same work which was printed at Basil in 1494 under the title, *Jerneri abbatis deflorationes super Evangelia de tempore per anni circulum*. This cannot be the work of Warnier of Westminster, who was never abbot. The Fasciculus Temporum has also been wrongly ascribed to him.

Several writers place immediately after the Conquest an English grammarian whom they name JOHANNES GRAMMATICUS, and to whom they attribute various works which were certainly written by other persons.† As far as I have been able to discover, this writer is a mere creature of the imagination, made out of the names of Johannes Philoponus, Johannes Guallensis, and Johannes de Garlandia, some of whose writings have been attributed to an imaginary personage, because they happened to be found under the simple name of *magister Johannes*.

* Hujus enim memorati presbyteri erat studium, omnes actus gigantum et bellatorum ex fabulis antiquorum, aut ex fideli relatione, ad edificationem audientium congregare, et ob memoriam Angliæ literis commendare. De Gestis Herwardi, ap. Chron. Anglo-Normandes, vol. ii. p. 2.

† See Warton, History of English Poetry, vol. i. p. cxvii. (edit. of 1840) and Tanner, under *Johannes Grammaticus*.

ANSELM.

Anselm, like his predecessor Lanfranc, was a native of Italy.* He was born at Aosta, in Piedmont, at the foot of the Graian Alps, about the year 1033. His parents held an honourable rank in society; for his mother, Ermenberga, appears to have been distantly related to the counts of Maurienne, the ancestors of the ducal house of Savoy.† His father, Gundulf, was descended from a noble Lombard family, and had settled at Aosta, where he married Ermenberga. They possessed a moderate fortune; but it required all the prudence of Anselm's mother, who was a careful housekeeper, to preserve it from the effects of his father's extravagance. It appears that Gundulf was a man of violent temper, and that his life was somewhat irregular, until at the approach of death he took the habit of a monk. Anselm in his childhood imbibed religious sentiments from the teaching and example of his mother, and exhibited an early taste for learning.

* Our chief authority for the history of Anselm is the life by his disciple Eadmer, and the Historia Novorum of the same writer. William of Malmsbury, who gives a long account of Anselm, professes to follow Eadmer chiefly. The Life and Works of Anselm have been frequently treated by modern writers. A Spaniard named Joseph Saenz d'Aguire wrote a large work on the Theology of St. Anselm in the latter half of the seventeenth century, which was twice printed in three vol. folio, at Salamanca, 1679—1685, and Rome, 1688—1690. An Istoria panegyrica di S. Anselmo, by Andrea Raineri, in 4 vol. 4to. was published at Modena, 1693—1706. In Germany, more recently, G. F. Franck published a Darstellung Anselm's, Tübingen, 1842; and F. R. Hasse, who had published a scholastic dissertation (Anselmi Cantuariensis de imagine divina doctrina,) in Ilgen's Zeitschrift für histor. Theologie in 1835, has given to the world the first volume of a larger memoir under the title, Anselm von Canterbury, 8vo. Leipzig, 1843.

† Eadmeri Vit. Anselmi, p. 2. In Gerberon's edition of his works. Hasse, Anselm v. Cant. vol. i. p. 42.

His father discouraged the child in his pursuits, and when, at the age of fifteen, Anselm ventured to declare his wish to embrace a monastic life, the anger of the parent was so strongly expressed that the youth determined to quit his home and country and throw himself upon the wide world.* He left home secretly, in company with a domestic chaplain, who perhaps had encouraged the design, and they loaded an ass with a sack containing a small stock of provisions. These failed them when they were passing over mount Cenis; they were compelled to melt snow in their mouths to quench their thirst, and Anselm became so weary and faint that he was unable to proceed. A small loaf, unexpectedly found in a corner of the sack, gave him courage and strength to continue his way, and enabled them to reach the bounds of these inhospitable regions. Of the next three years of Anselm's life, we only know that they were spent, perhaps fruitlessly, partly in Burgundy, and partly in France. It does not appear how he was occupied during this period, but in the course of his wanderings he arrived at Avranches, and there he first heard of the fame of his countryman Lanfranc and the school of Bec.

The eagerness after learning which had distinguished Anselm in his childhood now returned, and he hastened to Bec to place himself under Lanfranc's tuition. He devoted himself to his studies with wonderful perseverance, scarcely quitting his books by night or by day, and often forgetting his meals. When Lanfranc at length made him a partner in his labours, and entrusted to him the instruction of others, Anselm showed little taste for

* Patriam terram exeundi patris ira adolescenti occasionem ingessit: quam cum ille nullo posset lenire ingenio, ne domestica simultas in violationem naturæ transiret, abscessu fefellit suo. W. Malmsb. de Gestis Pontif. lib. i. p. 216. Conf. Eadmer, pp. 2, 3. Hasse, vol. i. p. 46.

this occupation; he preferred solitude and meditation to an active life, and, after much doubting as to where and how he should take the habit, and after consulting with Lanfranc and with Maurilius archbishop of Rouen, he became a monk in the abbey of Bec, in the twenty-seventh year of his age (A.D. 1060). Still Anselm was not allowed to remain inactive; for, when Lanfranc was made abbot of Caen (not, as commonly supposed, in 1063, but in 1066), Anselm was chosen to succeed him as prior of Bec, an office which he held till abbot Herluin's death in 1078, when he was further raised to be his successor. As monk and prior, Anselm was distinguished so much by his piety and virtues that his brethren believed him to be possessed of the power of working miracles. At his election to fill this office, the other monks were jealous at seeing so young a man passed over their heads, but he gradually conciliated them by the gentleness of his temper. He was indefatigable in teaching and in attending to the spiritual welfare of those committed to his care. At the same time he found abundant leisure for study and meditation; for it was during this period that he composed the greatest portion of his works, including the Monologion and the Proslogion, the tract against Gaunilo, the treatises de Veritate, de Casu Diaboli, de Libertate Arbitrii, and De Grammatico, and his Meditations. With these works his fame spread not only through Normandy, France, and Flanders, and the surrounding countries, but he was well known in England, and added to the reputation as well as to the riches of his abbey.*

The abbey of Bec had possessions in England, and soon after his election abbot Anselm found it necessary to visit them. This was a favourable opportunity of consulting with his ancient friend Lanfranc, by whom he was re-

* Eadmer, Vit. Anselmi, pp. 3—8. W. Malmsb. p. 216.

ceived at Canterbury with the greatest marks of distinction and esteem. He spent a short time in the society of the monks of Canterbury, and gave his advice in the question then agitated relating to the sanctity of the Saxon archbishop Ælfege.*

In other parts of England Anselm was received with the same marks of respect as at Canterbury. This occurred in the year 1079, and Anselm appears not to have visited our island again until he was invited over by Hugh earl of Chester, in 1092, to settle a colony of monks of Bec in the monastery which that nobleman had founded, or rather restored, in that city. At this time Lanfranc had been dead about four years, during which period the see of Canterbury was allowed to remain vacant, and the king, William Rufus, collected the revenues into his own treasury. It appears that the eyes of the English clergy had long been directed towards Anselm as his successor; and it is said that he deferred his visit to England to avoid giving any occasion of believing that he was ambitious of the dignity.† Anselm arrived at Canterbury on the 7th of September, 1092, and proceeded immediately to Chester, where he remained during the greater part of the winter. At Christmas the bishops and barons pressed upon the king the necessity of filling up the vacant archbishopric, and recommended Anselm; but William refused to listen to them, and was only reluctantly compelled to yield by the terror caused by a dangerous disease with which he was shortly afterwards visited. It appears from his letters that Anselm was retained in England by

* Eadmer, Vit. Anselm. p. 10.

† Hujusmodi verba ad aures ejus perlata continuerunt cum in Normannia totis 5 annis, quamvis crebro causis ingruentibus ultra mare advocaretur: invitavit ergo eum multorum necessitas, sed retrahebat timor ne famæ melioris oblitus raptari ambitione archiepiscopatus putaretur. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. lib. i. p. 217.

the affairs of the monastery of Bec:* in the February of 1093 he was preparing for his return, when the king suddenly declared his election to the see of Canterbury. Anselm obstinately refused the proffered dignity: but the English bishops, after vainly attempting to overcome his scruples, forced the pastoral staff into his hand, dragged him into the church of Gloucester (where the court was then held), and there hastily consecrated him, on Sunday the 6th of March, 1093. Anselm declared that this act was null, as being contrary to his will: but he was at length prevailed upon to waive his scruples and obey the king's commands. He made his entry into Canterbury on the 25th of September following, and he was more regularly consecrated on the 4th of December.

Anselm's conduct, and the reasons he gave for it, show that he had a presentiment of the troubles with which his new dignity was afterwards attended. At the feast of Christmas immediately following his ordination, Anselm attended the court, and the king took that opportunity of demanding the heriot, which in England it had been the practise to demand on the death of the holder and induction of his successor, even in ecclesiastical estates. The archbishop offered him five hundred pounds of silver; but after it had been received with apparent satisfaction, some of the courtiers who were opposed to Anselm persuaded the king that this sum was too small, and he demanded a thousand instead of five hundred pounds. Anselm refused, on the ground that by giving so great a sum he would incur the suspicion of having obtained the primacy by simony, and the king dismissed him in anger.† This first quarrel with the king was almost immediately followed by another, arising out of the primate's urgent

* Anselmi Epist. lib. 2, p. 51.

† Eadmer, p. 13. Hasse, pp. 293, 294.

representations of the necessity of discontinuing and repairing the injuries which William Rufus was inflicting upon the Church, and of enforcing discipline. Anselm now felt the uneasiness of his position, and looked back with regret to the tranquillity of his abbacy: yet amid the persecutions to which he was at this time subjected he found leisure from his secular occupations to write his treatise *De Incarnatione Verbi*, which he dedicated to the pope.*

On the king's return from Normandy in November 1094, Anselm repaired to court to request his permission to visit Rome for the purpose of receiving the pallium of Pope Urban II. At this time the succession to the papal chair was disputed by two candidates. King William burst into a violent passion when he heard the name of Urban, declared that he had not acknowledged him as pope, and that it was not the custom for any one to be acknowledged as pope in England without the king's consent.† Anselm refused to yield this point, and referred it for more mature consideration at a fuller assembly of the prelates and barons, which was accordingly held at Rockingham, on the 11th of March; and the debate was prolonged through two days. Nearly all the bishops, headed by William bishop of Durham, sided with the king, and a few of the secular barons only pleaded in favour of the primate. The proceedings were violent and noisy. It was decided to be a breach of allegiance to the crown to acknowledge Urban as pope, and Anselm was himself treated with rudeness. At the conclusion of the meeting Anselm requested permission to retire to the

* Eadmer, Vit. Anselm. p. 14.

† At ille ad nomen Urbani turbatus, dixit se illum pro papa non tenere, nec suæ consuetudinis esse ut absque sua electione alicui liceret in regno suo papam nominare. Eadmer, de Vit. Ansel. p. 17. Conf. Eadm. Hist. Novor. p. 57. (?). Consuetudo regni mei est a patre meo instituta, ut nullus præter licentiam regis appelletur papa. W. Malmsb. p. 219.

continent, which, after many promises and delays, the king refused. The monkish writers, who were favourable to Anselm, follow Eadmer in accusing all the English prelates of being influenced in their conduct by mercenary motives; a charge which does not appear to be supported by other circumstances, or by their individual characters.

The excitement caused by these proceedings had scarcely subsided, when a royal ordinance suddenly appeared acknowledging Urban II. as pope. The king had sent two messengers to Rome, and by promises and gifts having made his peace with the pope, the latter sent back a legate with the pallium, which Anselm was obliged to receive through the king's mediation. A reconciliation was at the same time effected, and Anselm was allowed to remain in peace during the rest of the year.* This peace lasted during the following year (1096), king William being occupied with the affairs of Normandy: but new causes of dispute arose on his return in the February of 1097. When, after the successful termination of an expedition against the turbulent Welshmen, Anselm was repairing to court for the purpose of urging the necessity of reforming the church, he was arrested on the road by an angry letter, in which the king accused him of intentionally sending a smaller number of soldiers than was due from him as archbishop, and thus endangering the affairs of the state. Anselm returned no answer to this charge, but, after an angry interview with William, he obtained a reluctant licence to go to Rome. He proceeded immediately, accompanied by two or three of his monks, to Dover, where he was detained fifteen days by contrary weather. During his stay at Dover he was placed under the surveillance of

* Serena pacis tranquillitas toto illo anno ab animo Anselmi curas depulit, et bonorum hominum levavit sollicitudines. W. Malmsb. De Gest. Pont. lib. i. p. 220.

one of the king's clerks, named William de Warelwast, and when, at the end of October, 1097, he went on ship-board, he was subjected to the further indignity of having his baggage brought out on the beach and publicly searched.*

Anselm landed at Witsand, and proceeded immediately to the monastery of St. Bertin, where he remained five days. He then continued his route through Flanders and France to Cluny, amid the most extravagant and joyful congratulations of the population through whose country he passed; so that his progress resembled more a triumphal march than the flight of a persecuted fugitive. His only companions were two English monks, Baldwin and Eadmer, to the latter of whom we owe the history of his troubles. Anselm arrived at Cluny the third day before Christmas, and met there his friend Hugh bishop of Lyons, whom he accompanied to that city. In the middle of March, 1098, Anselm quitted Lyons on his way to Rome, where he was received by the Pope with the greatest marks of distinction. After a stay of only ten days at Rome, the unusual heat of the weather afforded him an excuse for visiting one of his old scholars, John abbot of Telesi, near the confluence of the rivers Calore and Volturno, and the heat being there scarcely less oppressive than at Rome, he subsequently retired to a small farm belonging to the abbot on the summit of a mountain, where he resigned himself to the same contemplative life which he had formerly led at Bec. In this solitary spot, which was known by the name of Sclavia, Anselm finished his treatise entitled *Cur Deus homo?* which had been commenced amid his troubles in England. In May he visited Roger earl of Sicily in his camp before Capua, and was present during part of the siege of that place. After its surrender,

* Eadmer, Vit. Anselm. p. 19. W. Malmsb. pp. 220, 221. Eadmer. Hist. Nov.

early in June, he accompanied the pope to Aversa. Anselm took this opportunity of requesting to be permitted to resign his archbishopric; but the pontiff refused to accede to his request, represented to him the pusillanimity of deserting his flock, and urged him to return, requesting him however to attend the council of Bari against the schismatic Greeks in October, where he should hear his final determination. Anselm spent the intervening time in retirement at Sclavia; and, after distinguishing himself at Bari by his eloquent defence of the Romish church against the Greeks, returned with the pope to Rome, where he remained about six months, and was present at the council held there for the regulation of discipline, April 24, 1099, and the day after the conclusion of the council he left Rome and returned to Lyons. He awaited here the result of the pope's expostulations with the English king; but Urban died in the mean time on the 29th of July, 1099, an event which lengthened the period of Anselm's exile; and he was still residing at Lyons when in the beginning of August, 1100, news arrived of the sudden death of William Rufus. During his residence at Lyons Anselm wrote several of his works.*

On the accession of Henry I. Anselm was immediately recalled and received into favour, for the king was obliged to conciliate the favour of the church, as a support against the adherents of his brother. Anselm had, however, now become the unflinching champion of the temporal power of the church of Rome, and he was very soon dragged into new disputes. It had been customary for the prelates of the church to receive the ring and crozier, by which the temporalities of the see were understood to

* Eadmer, Vit. Anselmi, pp. 20—23. Hist. Novor. pp. 65—74. W. Malmsb. pp. 222—224. Hasse, Anselm von Canterbury, book ii. chap. 5, pp. 328—357.

be conveyed, from the hands of the sovereign; but the pope had been long endeavouring to take this investiture out of the hands of the secular prince, and it had been decided in the council of Rome in 1099 that any layman who should presume to grant such investiture, or the priest who might accept it, should thereby incur the sentence of excommunication. The real question was, whether the clergy should hold their estates, and be the subjects, of the king or of the pope. A few days after his return, the king required Anselm to make the usual homage for his archbishopric. Anselm referred the king to the decision of the Roman council, and met his demand by an absolute refusal. The matter was referred to the new pope, Pascacius II., who decided against the king. But Henry was resolute in opposing this invasion of the rights of the crown, and, after every attempt had been made to overcome the scruples of the primate, it was at last resolved that he should repair to Rome in person, where he found the king's messenger, who had arrived before him, and who made an unavailing effort to obtain from the pope the concession of the right of investiture. It was intimated to Anselm, as he was returning from Rome, that he would not be received in England unless he rendered the same allegiance to his sovereign which had been yielded by his predecessors, and he again sought an asylum at Lyons. The king thereupon seized the temporalities of the see of Canterbury.

Anselm remained at Lyons during the whole of 1104 and the first months of the year 1105; but towards the summer of the latter year he accompanied Adela countess of Blois to meet king Henry in Normandy, where he was received into favour and restored to his rights, although his return to England was delayed for different reasons, and he retired to Bec. The dispute between the king and the

pope was at length set at rest by mutual concession, the latter yielding to the secular prince the right of exacting homage but not of investing. Anselm returned to England in the autumn of 1106, and employed himself zealously and effectually in the reform of many abuses which had crept into the church during his troubles, and which occupied the remaining years of his life. On the 24th of May, 1108, a council was held at London for the enforcing of discipline. The year following Anselm appears to have been chiefly employed in writing: he composed at this time his tract *De Voluntate* and the treatise *De Concordia præscientiæ et prædestinationis et gratiæ Dei cum libero arbitrio*, and was commencing a new work *De origine animæ* when death put a stop to his labours. He died of a lingering illness, attended by a distaste for all kinds of nourishment, on the 21st of April, 1109, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, after having held the see of Canterbury sixteen years. He was buried in his cathedral, at the head of his friend and predecessor Lanfranc.*

Anselm was equal to Lanfranc in learning, and far exceeded him in piety. In his private life he was modest, humble, and sober in the extreme. He was obstinate only in defending the interests of the church of Rome, and, however we may judge the claims themselves, we must acknowledge that he supported them from conscientious motives. Reading and contemplation were the favourite occupations of his life, and even the time required for his meals, which were extremely frugal, he employed in discussing philosophical and theological questions.† By his rare genius he did much towards

* The history of the last nine years of the life of Anselm is given by Eadmer, Vit. Anselm. pp. 24—26, and more fully in the Hist. Novor. pp. 75—103. W. Malmsb. pp. 224—229. Hasse, book ii. chap. 6—11.

† Eadmer, Vit. Anselm. p. 15, who adds, Cum vero absentibus hospitibus privatim cum suis ederet, et nulla quæstio spiritualis cujusvis ex parte pro-

bringing metaphysics into repute. He laid the foundation of a new school of theology, which was free from the servile character of the older writers, who did little more than collect together a heap of authorities on the subjects which they treated. The Monologium and the Proslogium are admirable specimens of abstract reasoning. His reading was extensive, and his style is clear and vigorous. The following extract from the first of the treatises just mentioned will serve as a specimen.

Quod illa ratio sit quædam rerum locuti ,sicut faber dicit prius apud se quod facturus est.

Illa autem forma rerum, quæ in ejus ratione res creandas præcedebat, quid aliud est quam rerum quædam in ipsa ratione locutio; veluti cum faber facturus aliquod suæ artis opus prius illud intra se dicit mentis conceptione? Mentis autem sive rationis locutionem hic intelligo, non cum voces rerum significativæ cogitantur; sed cum res ipsæ vel futuræ vel jam existentes acie cogitationis in mente conspiciuntur. Frequenti namque usu cognoscitur quia rem unam tripliciter loqui possumus. Aut enim res loquimur signis sensibilibus, id est, quæ sensibus corporeis sentiri possunt sensibiliter utendo; aut eadem signa, quæ foris sensibilia sunt, intra nos insensibiliter cogitando; aut nec sensibiliter, nec insensibiliter his signis utendo; sed res ipsas, vel corporum imaginatione, vel rationis intellectu, pro rerum ipsarum diversitate, intus in nostra mente dicendo. Aliter namque hominem dico, cum eum hoc nomine, quod est homo, significo; aliter cum idem nomen tacens cogito: aliter cum eum ipsum hominem mens, aut per corporis imaginem, aut per rationem intuetur; per corporis quidem imaginem, ut cum ejus sensibilem figuram imaginatur: per rationem vero, ut cum universalem ejus essentiam, quæ est, animal rationale mortale cogitat. Hæ vero tres loquendi varietates singulæ verbis sui generis constant: sed illius, quam tertiam et ultimam posui, locutionis verba, cum de rebus non ignoratis sunt, naturalia sunt, et apud omnes gentes sunt eadem. Et quoniam omnia alia verba propter hæc sunt inventa: ubi ista sunt, nullum aliud verbum est necessarium ad rem cognoscendam; ut ubi ista esse non possunt, nullum aliud est utile ad rem ostendendam. Possunt etiam non absurde dici tanto veriora, quanto magis rebus, quarum sunt verba, similia sunt, et eas expressius significant; exceptis namque rebus illis, quibus ipsis utimur pro nominibus suis ad easdem significandas, ut sunt quædam voces, velut A vocalis: exceptis, inquam, his, nullum aliud verbum sic videtur rei simile, cujus est verbum, aut sic eam exprimit, quomodo illa similitudo quæ in acie

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diret, prælibato potius quam sumpto cibo mox cessabat, lectionique intendens manducantes expectabat.

mentis rem ipsam cogitantis exprimitur. Illud igitur jure dicendum est maxime proprium et principale rei verbum. Quapropter si nulla de qualibet re locutio tantum propinquat rei, quantum illa quæ hujusmodi verbis constat; nec aliquid aliud tam simile rei vel futuræ, vel jam existenti in ratione alicujus potest esse: non immerito videri potest apud summam substantiam, talem rerum locutionem et fuisse, antequam essent, ut per eam fierent, et esse, cum facta sunt, ut per eam sciantur.

The published writings of Anselm are *

1. The Monologion, a metaphysical treatise, in which Anselm attempts to establish by abstract reasoning the existence of God, his attributes, &c. He submitted this work to the judgment of Lanfranc, before he ventured to publish it.

2. The Proslogion, in which he undertakes to prove the existence of God by one single continued argument.†

3. The answer to Gaunilo, a monk of Marmoutier, who had criticised the Proslogion and espoused the cause of the *insipiens* (whom Anselm had introduced as his imaginary opponent) against Anselm's arguments. In this tract he enlarges and explains some of his arguments which had been misunderstood.

4. On the Trinity and the Incarnation, a controversial treatise against the celebrated philosopher Roscelin.

5. On the Procession of the Holy Ghost, another controversial treatise, in which he collected the arguments he had employed in the council of Bari against the Greeks, who denied that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son. Anselm is said to have written this book between 1100 and 1103, at the request of Hildebert bishop of Mans.

6. A dialogue in twenty-eight chapters *De casu Diaboli*, treating chiefly on the subject of the origin of evil.

7. A treatise entitled *Cur Deus Homo?* in two books,

* A good detailed account of Anselm's writings is given in the Hist. Lit. de France, vol. ix. pp. 416—465.

† Cœpi mecum quærere si forte posset inveniri unum argumentum quod nullo alio ad se probandum quam se solo indigeret. Præf. in Proslog.

written in the form of a dialogue between the author and Boso abbot of Bec, for the purpose of showing the necessity of the Christian scheme of redemption, and proving the resurrection of the body. It was begun in England and finished in Italy.

8. A treatise in twenty-nine chapters on the Conception of the Virgin and on Original Sin, composed at Lyons, and addressed to the same abbot Boso who appears in the *Cur Deus Homo?*

9. A dialogue *De Veritate* between a master and his disciple.

10. A treatise *De Voluntate,* first published by Gerberon, who found it without the name of the author, but with strong internal proofs that it was a work of Anselm.

11. A dialogue *De Libero Arbitrio.*

12. The treatise *De Concordia præscientiæ et prædestinationis et gratiæ Dei cum libero arbitrio.* This was Anselm's last, and perhaps his most profound, work, in which he undertakes to prove, first, that prescience is not repugnant to free-will, secondly, that predestination does not exclude free-will, and, thirdly, that grace does not exclude free-will.

13. A short tract *De fermento et azymo.*

14 and 15. Two brief treatises on Priests who keep Concubines, and on Marriage between certain degrees of affinity, questions then agitated in England.

16. A dialogue on Dialectics, entitled *De Grammatico.*

17. A very short treatise *De Voluntate Dei.*

18. Sixteen homilies.

19. A treatise on the Contempt of Temporal Things.

20. Another short tract in question and answer entitled *Admonitio morienti.*

21. Twenty-one Meditations, of some of which the authenticity is doubtful.

22. A collection of seventy-four prayers.

23. Hymns, and a Psalter of the Virgin, which are probably erroneously attributed to Anselm.

24. A large collection of miscellaneous letters, many of which afford valuable materials for the history of the time.

25. His Constitutions.

In addition to these, the writers of the Histoire Littéraire de France enumerate no less than thirty-six treatises which have been wrongly attributed to Anselm. Among these we may place the poem *De Contemptu Mundi*, which was the work of Alexander Neckham. Some additions might still be made from manuscripts to his authentic works, particularly to the Homilies, Meditations, and Letters; and perhaps some of Anselm's writings are entirely lost, such as the poem on the death of Lanfranc, mentioned by Ordericus Vitalis.

Editions.

Opera et tractatus beati Anselmi archiepiscopi Cantuarien. ordinis sancti Benedicti. At the end, Opera sancti Anselmi que is scripsit hoc libro quam salutari sidere clauduntur. Anno xp'i .M.cccc.lxxxxj. die vero vicesimaseptima martii Nurenberge. per Caspar Hochfeder: opifecem mira arte ac diligentia impressa. fol. This volume contains the Duo libri cur Deus homo; liber unus de incarnatione verbi; De conceptu virginali et peccato originali; Declaratio cujusdam de eodem; Proslogion; Monologion; De processione spiritus sancti contra Græcos; Dyalogus de casu Dyaboli; Pro insipiente; Contra insipientem; De diversitate sacramentorum; De fermento et azimo; Expositiones membrorum et actuum Dei et vestimentorum; De voluntate; De concordia præscientiæ et prædestinationis et gratiæ Dei cum libero arbitrio; De libero arbitrio; De veritate; De similitudinibus; De mensuratione crucis; Meditationes magnæ Anselmi; Meditatio ejusdem de redemptione generis humani; De passione Domini; Speculum evangelici sermonis; Homelia, Intravit Jesus in quoddam castellum; Epistolæ Sancti Anselmi; De imagine mundi.

This edition was reprinted in 1494.

Sermones tres de passione Christi. Argentie, M.cccc.xcvj. 4to. At the end, sig. & 4, is added, Anselmi devotissimi de passione Jesu Christi

querētis de gloriosissime b't'e Marie V'ginis respondent'. dyalogus incipit feliciter.

Opuscula beati Anselmi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ordinis sancti benedicti. fol. without name of place or date, It contains two tracts not in the edition of 1491, De miseria hominis, and De excellentia Virginis Mariæ. It also contains an index. There was another edition of the Opuscula without date.

Omnia divi Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi theologorum omnium sui temporis facile principis Opuscula, Antonii Democharis Ressonæi industria nunc primum restituta. Parisiis, 1544. fol. This contains, in addition to the previous editions, the tracts De similitudinibus, and De voluntate Dei. Reprinted in 1549.

D. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, theologorum omnium sui temporis facile principis, neminique eorum qui post eum fuerunt vel sanctitate, vel eruditione, vel eloquentia secundi, luculentissimæ in omnes sanctissimi Pauli apostoli epistolas et aliquot Evangelia enarrationes. Has enarrationes alii D. Hervæo ascribunt. Parisiis, 1544. fol.

Opera Venet. 1549. This edition appears to have been reprinted at the same place in 1568.

Anselmi Elucidarium. Paris, 1560.

Opera, Colon. 1560. fol. and again, Colon. 1573. fol.

B. Anselmi Vita et Opera iv. tomis, ubi ejus Epistolæ adjectæ sunt et notis illustratæ, per Joh. Piccardum. Col. Agr. 1612. More complete than any of the preceding editions.

B. Anselmi Opera extraneis in Sacros Libros Commentariis exonerata, recensuit et edidit Theoph. Raynaudus. Lugd. 1630. 3 vols. fol.

S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi de Felicitate Sanctorum dissertatio. Exscriptore Eadinero Anglo canonico regulari. Editore Joanne Bapt. de Machault, Parisino, Soc. Jesu. Parisiis, 1639. 8vo.

The dialogue De libero arbitrio, was published in the third volume of the Opuscula of St. Augustine, 4to. Lovan. 1648.

Divi Aurelii Augustini Hippon. episcopi Meditationes, Soliloquia, et Manuale. Meditationes B. Anselmi, cum tractatu de humani generis redemptione, &c. Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1649. 16mo.

D'Acherii Spicilegium, 4to. 1653—77, tom. iii. p. 24. Second Edit. Paris, 1723, fol. vol. i. pp. 443—449. Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi tractatus asceticus, 4to. tom. iii. p. 121, tom. ix. pp. 116—123. Second ed. tom. iii. p. 433—435. Some letters of Anselm.

Usher, Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge. 4to. Dublin. 1632. pp. 88—99. Six letters of Anselm.

Sancti Anselmi ex Beccensi abbate Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera .... labore ac studio D. Gabrielis Gerberon monachi congregationis S. Mauri ad MSS. fidem expurgata et aucta. Secunda editio, correcta et aucta. Lutetia Parisiorum, 1721, fol. The first edition was published at Paris in 1675. A third was printed at Venice, 1744, in 2 vols. folio.

The works of St. Anselm, more or less complete, will also be found in different collections printed under the title of Bibliotheca Patrum.

Translations.

A French translation of the Meditations of Anselm was published in 1571, and reprinted in 1588, 1602, and 1642.

Another French Translation of the Meditations, by Cerizius, appeared in 1650. A German translation of the Meditations had been printed at Lunenburg in 1638.

The Mount of Olives: or, Solitary Devotions. By Henry Vaughan, Silurist. With an excellent discourse of the blessed state of Man in Glory, written by the most reverend and holy father Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and now done into English. London, 1652. 12mo.

A third French translation of the Meditations was published anonymously in 1700.

Pious Breathings. Being the Meditations of St. Augustine, his Treatise of the Love of God, Soliloquies, and Manual, to which are added Select Contemplations from St. Anselm and St. Bernard. Made English by George Stanhope, D.D. chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty. London, 1701. 8vo.

A translation into French of the treatise *Cur Deus homo?* has been recently published in Paris.

Section ii.—Reign of Henry I.

HENRY I.

King Henry I. is said to have received the surname or title of Beauclerc (*Bellus clericus*) on account of his learning and literary taste. He was a scholar of Lanfranc, and must, therefore, have received a superior education. That he studied at Cambridge, or at Oxford, and took the degree of master of arts there, is but the legend of a later date.* The fact of his having published a code of laws is certainly no proof of the king's literary talents, although Leland for this work has given Henry a place among the learned English writers. Bale says that he wrote "Letters to Anselm," probably the official letter which was written by the king's order to recall the primate to England. The abbé de la Rue, for equally unsatisfactory reasons, placed the king among his list of Anglo-Norman trouvères, and believed him to have been the author of the collection of Esopean fables alluded to by the poetess Marie de France, and of an Anglo-Norman poem on behaviour at table, &c. entitled *Le Dictié d'Urbain*. The first of these works more probably went under the name of Alfred than Henry, and has been already spoken of in our account of that monarch. The *Dictié d'Urbain* was written at a later date; it is not in the slightest degree probable that Henry I. was its author. M. de la Rue has published four lines of an anonymous Latin poem, entitled Urbanus, preserved in a MS. of the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris (No. 3718), in which it is

* I believe the earliest authority for this statement is Rudburn's History, in Wharton, Angl. Sacr. vol. i. p. 273.

said that "the old king Henry" had published the precepts there given; but it does not seem clear that this appellation belongs to Henry I. of England, or that the "*documenta*" alluded to were anything more than the rules of behaviour followed in the household of the kings and of the great barons at the time the poem was written, which may have been established in the form then existing by this king:*

> Clerus præcipue, miles, matrona, puella,
> Quilibet ingenuus hæc servet scripta novella;
> Rex vetus Henricus primo dedit hæc documenta
> Illepidis, libroque novo scribuntur in isto.

WILLIAM OF CHESTER.

VERY little is known of William of Chester, except that he was the friend of Anselm. The writers of the Histoire Littéraire de France are probably correct in supposing him to have been a native of Normandy and a monk of Bec, where he appears to have been one of Anselm's disciples. He was, perhaps, one of the colony of monks from Bec which Anselm established at Chester in 1092.† It is evident that he survived Anselm, but it is not at all probable that he was the same person who was elected abbot of St. Werburg's at Chester in 1121, and died in 1140, as Tanner seems to intimate. William wrote a poem on the elevation of Anselm to the see of Canterbury, and another on his death, in Latin elegiacs. The letter in which Anselm acknowledges the receipt of the

* M. de la Rue's article on Henry I. will be found in his Essais Historiques sur les Bardes, les Jongleurs, et les Trouvères Normands et Anglo-Normands, vol. ii. pp. 33—40.

† Hist. Lit. de France, tom. x. p. 12.

former is extant,* as well as the poems themselves. They are both short. The elegy commences with a brief abstract of Anselm's life; the following lines will serve to convey an idea of the style in which it is written:

Felix Italia præ cunctis partibus orbis,
Quæ meruit talem progenuisse virum.
Infelix iterum quæ talem perdit alumnum,
Infelix plane pignoris orba sui.
Tu quoque cœnobium quondam Beccense vigebas,
Dum tuus Anselmus dux fuit et monachus;
Amisit veterem facies tua pene decorem,
Dum tuus Anselmus desiit esse pater.
Cantia, tu quondam totum veneranda per orbem
Præsulis Anselmi tempore signa dabas.
Te minor orbis erat; populos tua fama per omnes
Fluxit amica bonis, invidiosa malis.
Te monachus, clerus, populusque docendus adibat,
Dum tuus Anselmus vixerat ille bonus.

Edition.

Stephani Baluzii Tutelensis Miscellanea, novo ordine digesta, tomus iv. Lucæ, 1764, fol. p. 15, Carmen in laudem sancti Anselmi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis. p. 16, Epicedion in obitum ejusdem. Probably they were taken from the same manuscript which was formerly in the possession of Leland.

GILBERT CRISPIN.

Gilbert Crispin was one of the most distinguished of the monks whom Lanfranc brought into England from the abbey of Bec. He was of a noble Norman family, being descended from Gilbert count of Brienne, who had obtained the surname of Crispin, or Crespin, from his crisp or curly hair. His father placed him in the school of Bec at a very early age, and he had made great pro-

* Anselmi Epist. lib. iii. ep. 34.

gress in all branches of learning, first under Lanfranc and Herluin, and afterwards under Anselm, when Lanfranc brought him to England, and made him abbot of Westminster. He is said to have held this dignity thirty-two years, and to have died in 1114 or 1117.*

Gilbert Crispin appears to have enjoyed considerable reputation as a writer. His most celebrated work was a treatise against the Jews, some of whom he is said to have converted. This treatise, dedicated to Anselm, is written in the form of a dialogue between a Jew and a Christian. In the following lines of the introductory letter to Anselm, Gilbert describes the occasion on which this book was written.

Paternitati et prudentiæ vestræ discutiendum mitto libellum, quem nuper scripsi, paginæ commendans quæ Judæus quidam olim mecum disputans, contra fidem nostram de lege sua proferebat, et quæ ego ad objecta illius pro fide nostra respondebam. Nescio unde ortus, sed apud Moguntiam litteris educatus, legis et litterarum etiam nostrarum bene sciens erat, et exercitatum in scripturis atque disputationibus contra nos ingenium habebat. Plurimum mihi familiaris sæpe ad me veniebat, tum negotii sui causa, tum me videndi gratia: quoniam in aliquibus illi multum necessarius eram: et quotiens conveniebamus, mox de scripturis ac de fide nostra sermonem amico animo habebamus. Quadam ergo die solito majus mihi et illi Deus otium concessit; et mox unde solebamus inter nos quæstionem cœpimus. Et quoniam quæ opponebat convenienter satis et consequenter opponebat, et ea quæ opposuerat non minus convenienter prosequendo explicabat, nostra vero responsio vicino satis pede ad opposita illius respondebat et scripturarum æque testimonio nitens eadem ipsi concessu facilis esse videbatur et approbanda, rogaverunt quidam qui aderant ut memoriæ darem nostram hanc disceptationem fortasse aliquibus profuturam. Scripsi igitur, et tacito mei et ipsius nomine scripsi sub persona Judæi cum Christiano de fide nostra disceptantis, scriptumque et exaratum hoc opus vestræ transmitto examinandum censuræ.

The only other work of this writer which has been printed is the Life of Herluin, first abbot of Bec. Most of the treatises ascribed by Cave and others to Gilbert Crispin belong to other persons of the name of Gilbert;

* The better authorities appear to be in favour of the earlier date. See Tanner. The writers of the Hist. Lit. de France seem inclined to place his death several years later, but their evidence is not satisfactory.

the comments on the Bible are the work of Gilbertus Universalis. The writer of the article on Gilbert in the Hist. Lit. de France states erroneously that there is a dialogue on the Procession of the Holy Spirit by Gilbert of Westminster in the Cottonian Library. The same biographer * quotes the following titles from an early catalogue of books given to the abbey of Bec: "Contra Judæos liber Gisleberti Crispini. Item, ejusdem de Simoniacis, et de veritate corporis et sanguinis Domini. Item, ejusdem sermo de dedicatione ecclesiæ. Item, homilia ejusdem super: Cum vigilasset Dominus. Item, ejus epistolæ tres."

Editions.

Beati Lanfranci . . opera . evulgavit domnus Lucas Dacherius. Lut. Par. 1648, fol. Appendix, pp. 32—40. Vita sancti et gloriosissimi patris Herluini . . authore Gilberto Crispino abbate Westmonasteriensi.

Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti . . . Sæculum vi. Pars Secunda. Luteciæ Parisiorum, 1701, fol. pp. 340—355, Vita B. Herluini Beccensis abbatis primi et conditoris. Auctore Gisleberto Crispino abbate Westmonasteriensi, ejus discipulo.

Sancti Anselmi opera, fol. Parisiis, 1721. pp. 512—544. Disputatio Judæi cum Christiano de fide Christiana, scripta a domno Gisleberto abbate Westmonasterii, hactenus inedita.

TURGOT.

Among the earliest historical writers after the Conquest was Turgot, who wrote a history of the monastery of Durham from the first settlement of the monks there to his own time, which contains valuable notices relating to the history of the north of England in the Anglo-Saxon and earliest Anglo-Norman times. We first hear of Turgot in 1074, when a monk named Aldwin quitted his own monastery of Winchelescombe (or Winchcomb)

* Hist. Lit. de Fr. tom. x. p. 196.

in Gloucestershire, to visit some of the monasteries which had been injured or ruined in the troubles of the preceding age. Aldwin went with one or two companions to Evesham, York, Newcastle, Jarrow or Yarrow, from which latter place he was invited by bishop Walcher to Durham. He was accompanied from Jarrow to Durham by Turgot, who was then a young man and a clerk, but not a monk.* Aldwin and Turgot soon rose high in the favour of Walcher, who gave to them and their companions the monastery of Jarrow, which they began to raise from its ruins. The monks, however, appear not to have agreed well in this place; and a party of them, with Aldwin at their head, left it and repaired to Melros. Turgot was again one of Aldwin's companions on this occasion. They were here persecuted by the king of the Scots, and, induced by the persuasions and threats of Walcher, they returned to Durham, and the bishop settled them at Wearmouth, which also they raised in some measure from its ruins. Here Turgot received the tonsure at the hands of Aldwin. In 1083, after Walcher's death, bishop William (his successor) obtained the king's licence to turn out the secular canons attached to his cathedral, and introduce monks in their place. On this occasion he transferred the monks of Jarrow and Wearmouth to Durham, and reduced those two ancient houses to the position of cells to his larger house, of which latter he made Aldwin the first prior. Aldwin dying in 1087, Turgot, who enjoyed the favour of his bishop, was chosen to succeed him, and as prior assisted at the foundation of the new monastery in 1093. He was subsequently made archdeacon of the diocese, and in 1109 he was elected to the bishopric of St. Andrew's,

* At Aldwinus de Gyruuensi monasterio egrediens, comitem itineris et propositi in clericali adhuc habitu Turgotum habuit. Sim. Dunelm. Hist. de Dunelm. Eccles. col. 45.

which he held till 1115, when, sick and aged, and disgusted with the treatment he received from the Scottish king, he obtained licence to resign and return to Durham, where he died two months after his arrival, at the begining of September, 1115.*

Turgot's history of his monastery of Durham appears to have been republished about fifty years afterwards by Simeon of Durham, who put his own name to it, although he made scarcely any alterations in it, and did not even continue it.† It is written in clear and simple language. The following is Turgot's description of the site of Durham, at the time of the arrival of the monks of Lindisfarne, who had escaped from the Danes with the body of their saint.

Comitans sanctissimi patris Cuthberti corpus universus populus in Dunelmum, locum quidem natura munitum sed non facile habitabilem invenit, quoniam densissima undique silva totum occupaverat. Tantum in medio planicies erat non grandis, quam arando et seminando excolere consueverant: ubi episcopus Aldhunus non parvam de lapidc postea ecclesiam erexit, sicut in consequentibus apparebit. Igitur præfatus antistes totius populi auxilio et comitis Northanimbrorum Uhtredi adjutorio totam extirpans silvam succidit, ipsumque locum brevi habitabilem fecit. Denique a flumine Coqued usque ad Teisam universa populorum multitudo tam ad hoc opus quam ad construendam postmodum ecclesiam prompto animo accessit, et donec perficeretur devota insistere non cessavit. Eradicata itaque silva, et unicuique mansionibus sorte distributis præsul antedictus amore Christi et sancti Cuthberti fervens, ecclesiam honesto nec parvo opere inchoavit, et ad perficiendam omni studio intendit. Interea sanctum corpus de illa quam superius diximus ecclesiola in aliam translatum quæ alba ecclesia vocabatur, tribus ibidem annis dum major ecclesia construeretur requievit.

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* This information is gathered from the brief but valuable Annals of Durham printed in the Monasticon, vol. i. p. 235, and from Turgot's own history.

† It was printed under Simeon's name by Twysden. See the article on Simeon in the present volume. A fine early manuscript of Turgot's book is in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Faustina A. v. A learned essay written by Selden to prove that Turgot, and not Simeon, was the author, is printed in Twysden. Rudd, who published a new edition, endeavours to confute the arguments of Selden, and the question still seems involved in some doubt. It may be observed that the passages quoted by Fordun from Turgot are not found in the History of Durham attributed to him.

Turgot also wrote the Life of St. Margaret queen of Scotland, probably during the period he held the see of St. Andrew's: it was preserved in a manuscript in the Cottonian library which unfortunately perished in the fire.* Bale pretends that Turgot also wrote a history of the kings of Scotland, a life of king Malcolm, and a history of his own time. The historian Fordun quotes frequently from Turgot's writings.

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER.

The first general historian, or rather chronicler, who wrote in England after the Norman conquest, was Florence, a monk of Worcester. All we know of the personal history of this writer is, that he died on the fifth of June 1118, and that he was esteemed by the monks of his house as a man of great erudition and industry.† Leland gives an exaggerated estimate of his character. His chronicle, which commences with the creation, and is continued to the year of his death, is little better than a compilation from the chronicle of Marianus Scotus, and from the Saxon Chronicle. The part which relates to our own island is almost a literal translation from the latter work. An anonymous continuation of the chronicle of Florence from 1118 to 1141 is of much greater value than the chronicle itself. The account of events which occurred in the year 1083 will furnish an example of Florence's style, and

* MS. Cotton. Tiberius D. III. This life is quoted by Fordun, Scotichron. lib. v. c. 23.

† His continuator says, A. 1118, Nonis Julii obiit dominus Florentius Wigornensis monachus. Hujus subtili scientia et studiosi laboris industria, præeminet cunctis hæc Chronicarum Chronica. The Worcester Annals, printed in Wharton, Anglia Sacra, tom. i. p. 475, give the same date.

may be compared with the account of the same year in the Saxon Chronicle.*

1083. Henricus urbem Romæ infregit et cepit, Wigbertum in sede apostolica constituit. Hildebrandus vero Beneventum adiit, ubi usque ad obitum suum deguit. Henricus rex in Teutonicam patriam rediit. Seditio nefanda inter monachos et indigne nominandum abbatem Turstanum Glastoniæ facta est, quem rex Gulielmus de monasterio Cadomi, nulla prudentia instructum, eidem loco abbatem præfecerat. Hic inter cætera stultitiæ suæ opera, Gregorianum cantum aspernatus, monachos cœpit compellere ut illo relicto cujusdam Gulielmi Fescamnensis cantum discerent et cantarent. Quod dum ægre acciperent, quippe qui jam tam in hoc quam in cætero ecclesiastico officio secundum morem Romanæ ecclesiæ insenuerant, subito (armatus militari manu) illis ignorantibus quadam die in capitulum irruit, monachos nimio terrore fugientes in ecclesiam usque ad altare persequitur, jaculisque et sagittis cruces et imagines ac feretra sanctorum manus militaris transfigens, unum etiam monachum, amplexantem altare lancea transverberans interemit, alium ad altaris crepidinem sagittis confossum necavit. Cæteri vero necessitate compulsi scamis et candelabris ecclesiæ fortiter se defendentes, licet graviter vulnerati, milites omnes retro chorum abegerunt; sicque factum est ut duo occisi quatuordecim vulnerati ex monachis, nonnulli etiam de militibus sauciati existerent. Hinc moto judicio, dum maxima abbatis esse culpa patuit, rex eundem abbatem summovit, et in monasterio suo in Normannia posuit. De monachis vero quam plurimi per episcopatos et abbatias jussu regis custodiendi disperguntur. Cujus post mortem, idem abbas iterum abbatiam suam a filio ejus Gulielmo quingentis libris argenti emit, et per ecclesiæ possessiones aliquot annis pervagatus, longe ab ipso monasterio (ut dignus erat) misere vitam finivit. Regina Matildis quarto Nonas Novembris feria quinta decessit in Normannia, et Cadomi est sepulta.

The old bibliographers attribute several other works to Florence of Worcester; but there is strong reason for believing that they had no authority for them.

* W. Malmsb. De Antiq. Glaston. Ecclesiæ, ap. Gale, p. 332, in the chapter De Discordiis inter Turstanum et suum conventum, et de cruce vulnerata; at the end says, Acta sunt hæc anno Domini MLXXXI°: hujus etiam rei testis est Orosius Anglorum historiographus. As no other writer mentions any English chronicler of this name, at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries, I am inclined to think that *Orosius* is a mere error of the scribe for *Florentius.* It is singular that Ordericus Vitalis, speaking apparently of Florence of Worcester, calls him John, lib. iii. p. 159 (ed. Le Prevost). Perhaps, like Ordericus himself, he may have had more names than one. This historian says, that John of Worcester, the chronicler, was of Anglo-Saxon blood, and was educated in the monastery from his childhood.

Editions.

Chronicon ex Chronicis, ab initio mundi usque ad annum Domini 1118 deductum, Auctore Florentio Wigorniensi monacho. Accessit etiam continuatio usque ad annum Christi 1141, per quendam ejusdem cœnobii eruditum...... Londini, excudebat Thomas Dausonus, pro Ricardo Watkins, 1592, 4to. Edited by William Howard, and dedicated to Lord Burghley.

Flores Historiarum per Matthæum Westmonasteriensem collecti...... Et Chronicon ex Chronicis ab initio mundi usque ad annum Domini MCXVIII deductum: Auctore Florentio Wigorniensi monacho. Cui accessit Continuatio usque ad annum Christi MCXLI, per quendam ejusdem cœnobii eruditum. Francofurti, 1601, fol.

Collection of Historians, edited by order of the Record Commission, vol. i. pp. 522—615. Chronicon ex Chronicis, ab initio mundi usque ad annum Domini M.C.XVIII. deductum, auctore Florentio Wigorniensi monacho. The portion extending from A.D. 450 to the Norman Conquest, pp. 616—644. Florentii Wigorniensis ad Chronicon Appendix. Tables of bishops, kings, &c.

HEREBERT, BISHOP OF NORWICH.

Herebert, known commonly by the surname of Losinga, was born at Hiesmes in Normandy, (pagus Oximensis,*) and became a monk in the abbey of Fécamp, of which he was subsequently made prior. William Rufus invited him to England in 1087, and made him abbot of Ramsey. By the king's favour, and other means, Herebert soon became very rich; and in 1091 he bought of the king, for the sum of a thousand pounds, the bishopric of Thetford for himself, and the abbacy of Winchester for his father Robert.† This transaction appears to have created much

* The greater number of modern biographers, with Bartholemew de Cotton, in the Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 407, have read Oxunensis, and Oxoniensis, and supposed him to be a native of Oxford.

† W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. lib. IV. p. 128, and de Gest. Pontif. lib. II. p. 238. Roger de Hoveden. Annal. p. 464. See also the articles on Herebert in the Hist. Lit. de France, tom. x, and in Godwin de Episc.

scandal at the time, and to have been loudly condemned. Herebert went in person to Rome to obtain absolution of his sin of simony, and endeavoured to make amends for it by his exemplary conduct in after life. On his return from Rome in 1094, he removed his see from Thetford to Norwich, and founded at the former place a house of Cluniac monks. At Norwich he built the cathedral and founded the monastery at his own charges; and he also built five parish churches in his diocese, two at Norwich, and the others at Elmham, Lynn, and Yarmouth. He died on the 22nd of July, 1119, and was buried in his cathedral church.*

William of Malmsbury speaks of Herebert as a man of considerable learning; and Henry of Huntingdon mentions his writings then extant.† According to Bale he was the author of a book of sermons, eighteen in number, beginning with the words, *Convenistis, dilectissimi fratres;* and of separate treatises, *De prolixitate temporum*, and *De fine mundi;* he also attributes to him a set of constitutions for the government of monks, a collection of letters, and a treatise *Ad Anselmum contra sacerdotes.* If these works ever existed, they appear now to be lost. But we learn from the Histoire Littéraire de France,‡ that in the last century there was still preserved, in the library of the abbey of Cambron, Herebert's treatise on the seven sacraments, under the title, *Herebertus de Septem Sacramentis.*

* Bale and Pits place his death in 1120; but the other date is supported by better authorities. See Tanner.

† Norwiciæ sedit Herbertus, vir benignus et doctus, cujus extant scripta. H. Hunt. De mundi contemptu, p. 700.

‡ Tom. x, p. 267.

REGINALD OF CANTERBURY.

The next Anglo-Norman poet of any importance after Godfrey of Winchester was Reginald of Canterbury. We learn from his own writings that he was born and educated at Fagia, apparently in the south of France,* and that Aimeric lord of Fagia was his patron.† He came to England, and became a monk in the Benedictine abbey of St. Augustine at Canterbury. We have no date of any event of his life; but we know that he was the contemporary of Anselm, to whom he addresses some of his writings, and that he was intimate with most of the scholars of that age. In a short poem addressed to Gilbert Crispin abbot of Westminster, he speaks of his principal poem, the legend of St. Malchus, and as Gilbert himself died in 1117, we may perhaps conclude that that poem was composed at least from three to five years before that date, in which case Reginald must be considered as having flourished about A.D. 1112.‡ We have no information on the date of his death.

We have abundant proofs that Reginald had studied with attention the classic poets of ancient Rome; his Latinity is not incorrect, and he writes with much facility and spirit, although he has the taste of a barbarous age. He

* In his poem *ad Fagiam castellum*, Reginald says,—

Fagia, dum vivam, te laudo meam genitivam
Terram, dum fuero, grates tibi solvere quæro.
Fagia, favisti, genuisti, perdocuisti
Olim me puerum falso discernere verum.

† He addresses one of his poems to *Domino suo Americo Fagiensi*.

‡ This approximate date is further supported by the circumstances that the MSS. contain some verses addressed to Reginald, and complimenting him on his life of Malchus, by Thomas archbishop of York, who was made archbishop in 1109, and died in 1114.

uses the rhyming hexameters which were termed Leonine verse, and tasks his ingenuity to produce a continual variation of rhymes, and of modes of attaching them together. His principal work is a long poem on the legendary history of an eastern saint named Malchus, who lived in the fourth century. The following description of the cave of Malchus will be sufficient to convey a notion of the style of this long verbose composition.*

Hac sub rupe specus fuit olim lumine cæcus.
Antrum semirutum, vastum, penetrabile, mutum,
Solis inaccessum radiis, caligine pressum.
Quæ tamen irrorat loca fons, sol illa vaporat.
Janua cisturnæ, vix hoc rubet igne lucernæ.
Sed te ludifico, lapidem cum janua dico.
Cardo, fores, aditus, lapis est non arte politus.
Postes petra dabat, sibi quos natura creabat.
Intrantique tamen dabat arctum petra foramen.
At nequeas tecto te sistere, corpore recto;
Ni quadrupes ibis, non hac irrumpere quibis.
Hunc aditum terræ parva potes obice petræ
Claudere, nec fures tunc magni pendere cures.

Some of Reginald's smaller poems, more especially the one in praise of Fagia, give us a better opinion of the poet's taste, as will be seen in the following lines from the last mentioned poem, written in cross-rhymed Leonines, which are best understood by being divided.

Fagia, si loquerer
    linguis, et millia nossem
Plectra, prius morerer
    quam singula scribere possem.
Fagia, dum calidis
    sol curribus occidet undis
Ceruleæ Thetidis,
    hastes mucrone retundis.

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* A brief analysis of this poem, with some extracts, and the two poems of Reginald to Fagia and Aimeric, are given in Sir Alexander Croke's Essay on the Origin, Progress, and Decline of Rhyming Latin Verse, pp. 63—82.

Fagia, donec aper
    silvas, et flumina piscis,
Et virgulta caper
    repetunt, tu crescere discis.
Fagia, donec apes
    cytisum, juvenemque puella,
Esuriensque dapes
    amat, ardes vincere bella.

The poems of Reginald of Canterbury are preserved in manuscript in the British Museum,* and at Oxford.†

ERNULPH, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

Ernulph was a native of Beauvais, where he was born about the year 1040. In his youth he studied under Lanfranc at Bec, and subsequently, on his return to Beauvais, he became a monk in the monastery of St. Lucian, where he taught grammar. Dissatisfied with the behaviour of the monks of his house, about 1070, he wrote to Anselm and Lanfranc, to ask their advice on the steps he should pursue, and, at the invitation of the latter, he came to England and entered the priory of Canterbury. He there continued to teach grammar, and, after the accession of Anselm to the archbishopric, was raised to the office of prior. In 1107 Ernulph was made abbot of Peterborough, and in 1114 he was promoted to the bishopric of Rochester.‡ One of his most important works as bishop was the collecting of the various early charters, &c. of his see into a volume, which is still pre-

* MS. Cotton. Vespas. E. III.

† Bibl. Bodl. MS. Laud. No. 40.

‡ W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 234, and the Hist. Lit. de Fr. tom. x, p. 425.

served and known by the title of the *Textus Roffensis.* Besides the charters of the church, this volume contains a valuable collection of the Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman laws, and some other small documents of historical importance. It has furnished materials to the different printed collections of English laws and constitutions; a few articles of its contents were given in the Anglia Sacra; and finally the whole was printed by Hearne. There are also preserved two long letters from Ernulph to Walkelin bishop of Winchester and Lambert abbot of St. Bertin; the first relating to adulterous marriages, the other to the sacrament of the altar and some other theological questions. Bishop Ernulph died on the 15th of March, 1124, at the age of eighty-four.

Editions.

Anglia Sacra. (Edited by H. Wharton,) pars prima. Lond. 1691. fol. pp. 329—34. Ernulfi Episcopi Roffensis Collectanea de Rebus Ecclesiæ Roffensis, from the Textus Roffensis.

Textus Roffensis. Accedunt, Professionum antiquorum Angliæ Episcoporum Formulæ, de canonica obedientia archiepiscopis Cantuariensibus præstanda, &c..... E Codicibus MSS. descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius. Oxonii, 1720, 8vo.

Lucas D'Achery, Spicilegium sive Collectio veterum aliquot Scriptorum. Tomus III. Parisiis, 1723, fol. pp. 464—471. Ernulfi monachi Benedictini, postea Roffensis episcopi, Epistola ad Walchelinum episcopum Wentanum. pp. 471—474, Ejusdem Epistola ad Lambertum. These Epistles appeared in the second volume of the earlier edition of the Spicilegium, pp. 410 and 431.

EADMER.

Eadmer appears to have been born of an English family; he is said to have been placed at an early age in the monastery at Canterbury, where he became a chanter,

and where he obtained the friendship and patronage of Anselm after his elevation to the archbishopric. He accompanied the primate in all his troubles and wanderings, of which he composed the history after Anselm's death. To him also was entrusted the direction of Anselm's funeral. He appears to have enjoyed the favour of Anselm's successor, archbishop Radulph, whom also he accompanied to Rome in 1119. On his return to England, in 1120, he was elected bishop of St. Andrew's in Scotland, but for some reason or other he returned to Canterbury the year following.* The day of his death is known to have been the 13th of January; the year is less certain, but it is supposed to have been 1124.

As a writer, Eadmer appears under three characters, those of a historian, of a compiler of lives of saints, and of a theologian. His principal historical work, the *Historia Novorum*, or history of his own times, in six books, is the most valuable work we possess relating to the events of the reign of William Rufus, and of the earlier part of that of Henry I. It ends with the close of the archiepiscopate of Radulph, who died in 1122, but a portion of it appears to have been written before the death of Anselm, and is even said to have been revised by Anselm himself. The life of Anselm, in two books, forms a necessary supplement to this history. The *Historia Novorum* was first printed by Selden: it appears to have been very popular in the twelfth century, and is spoken of in high terms of praise by William of Malmsbury.

Eadmer compiled lives of several Anglo-Saxon saints connected with the see of Canterbury, such as Odo, Bregwin, and Dunstan, and Peter first abbot of St.

* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 12.

Augustine's, and of Oswald and Wilfrid archbishops of York. These have been printed by Wharton and others. He is said also to have written a life of Aldhelm, but this is, perhaps, an error arising from the misreading of Aldhelm instead of Anselm. An early manuscript (perhaps contemporary) in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,* contains nearly all the works known to have been written by Eadmer, and more especially the lives, but no life of Aldhelm occurs amongst them.

Eadmer's theological and miscellaneous writings are brief, and without importance. The manuscript just alluded to contains his verses on St. Dunstan; a hymn on St. Edward the king and martyr; a tract on the assertion of the monks of Glastonbury that they possessed the body of Dunstan; a tract entitled *Scriptum de ordinatione beati Gregorii Anglorum apostoli;* on the Excellence of the Virgin Mary; *Scriptum de beatitudine vitæ perennis, desumptum ex sermone habito ab Anselmo Cantuar. in cœnobio Cluniacensi;* on the Conception of the Virgin Mary; *Sententia de memoria sanctorum quos veneraris; Scriptum Eadmeri peccatoris ad commovendam super se misericordiam beati Petri janitoris regni cœlestis;* a discourse on the relics of St. Owen and other saints, preserved at Canterbury; and a tract bearing the title *Insipida quædam divinæ dispensationis consideratio edita ab Eadmero magno peccatore de beatissimo Gabriele archangelo.* Gerberon, in his edition, restored to Eadmer two works which had been attributed to Anselm, "On the Four Virtues which were in the blessed Virgin," and "On the Similitudes of St. Anselm." The latter contains the oral sayings of Anselm. Some of Eadmer's epistles are preserved in MS. Cotton. Otho, A. XII. A few

* MS. C. C. C. C. No. 371.

other tracts are attributed to Eadmer by Bale, which, if they ever existed, appear now to be lost.

Eadmer's account of his journey with Anselm from Lyons to Rome, in the *Vita Anselmi*, will serve as a specimen of his style and manner of writing.

Cum autem Lugdunum venisset, et ab archiepiscopo civitatis ipsius gloriose susceptus fuisset, post dies paucos missis literis consilium a domino papa de negotio suo quæsivit, et quia partim imbecillitate sui corporis, partim aliis pluribus causis præpeditus ultra Lugdunum progredi nequaquam posset, ei suggessit. Ita ergo Lugduni resedit, reditum nuntiorum suorum ibi expectans. Post tempus Roma nuntii redeunt, et quoniam omni sublata excusatione eum ad se papa properare præceperit, referunt. Ille nescius moræ pontificalibus jussis obaudit, viæ se periculis mortem pro Deo non veritus tradit. Hinc Secusiam venimus, et nos abbati loci illius præsentavimus. Eramus quippe monachi tres, dominus videlicet et pater Anselmus, dominus Balduinus, et ego qui hæc scribo frater Eadmerus, qui ita ibamus quasi pares essemus, nullo indicio quis cui præstaret coram aliis ostendentes. Ab abbate igitur qui vel unde essemus interrogati, paucis respondimus. Et audito quosdam ex nobis Beccensis cœnobii monachos esse, sciscitatus est: Fratres, obsecro vos, vivit ille adhuc, ille Dei et omnium bonorum amicus Anselmus, scilicet cœnobii ipsius abbas, vir in omni religione probatus et acceptus? Balduinus ad hæc: Ille, ait, ad archiepiscopatum in aliud regnum raptus est. At ille, Audivi; sed nunc quæso qualiter est? valet? Equidem ex eo tempore, ait, quo functus est pontificatu, non vidi eum Becci: dicitur tamen bene valere ubi est. Tunc abbas: Et ut valeat oro. Hæc de se Anselmus dici audiens, confestim tecto cuculæ suæ capitio capite, demisso vultu sedebat. Nolebamus enim agnosci, ne forte præcurrente fama de adventu tanti viri cuivis periculo nostra incuria fieremus obnoxii. Celebratis dehinc in cœnobio sancti Michaelis archangeli, quod in monte situm Clusa vocatur, Passionis ac Resurrectionis Dominicæ solenniis, in iter reversi Romam festinavimus. Mirum dictu. Pauci atque ignoti per loca peregrina ibamus, neminem agnoscentes, nemini qui vel unde essemus innotescentes, et ecce solus Anselmi aspectus in admirationem sui populos excitabat, eumque esse virum vitæ designabat. Unde cum jam hospitati etiam inter eos, quorum insidias metuebamus, fuissemus; nonnunquam viri cum mulieribus hospitium intrare, et ut hominem videre ejusque mererentur benedictione potiri, obnixe precabantur.

Editions.

Fratris Edineri Angli de Vita D. Anselmi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, lib. II. nunquam antehac editi. Antverpiæ, 1551, 12mo. It was afterwards inserted in the editions of Anselm's works.

Eadmeri Monachi Cantuariensis Historiæ Novorum sive sui Sæculi. Libri VI. Res gestas (quibus ipse non modo spectator diligens sed comes etiam et actor plerunque interfuit) sub Gulielmis I. et II. et Henrico I. Angliæ regibus, ab anno nempe salutis MLXVI. ad MCXXII. potissimum complexi. In Lucem ex Bibliotheca Cottoniana emisit Joannes Seldenus, et notas porro adjecit et spicilegium. Londini, 1623. fol.

Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti. Sæculum III. pars. i. fol. Paris, 1672, pp. 196-228, The Life of Wilfrid. Sæc. V. fol. Paris, 1685, pp. 288-296, The Life of Odo (ascribed wrongly to Osbern).

Anselmi Opera, ed. Gerberon. fol. Paris, 1675. The works of Eadmer as a supplement.

Anglia Sacra, sive Collectio Historiarum antiquitus scriptarum de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ, a prima Fidei Christianæ susceptione ad annum MDXL. Pars Secunda, 1691. Edited by Henry Wharton, pp. 78—87, Osberni (*verius* Eadmeri) liber de Vita S. Odonis archiepiscopi Cantuar. pp. 181—183, Eadmeri librorum de Vita S. Anselmi quæ desunt in editis. pp. 184—190, Eadmeri Liber de Vita S. Bregwyni. pp. 191—210, Eadmeri liber de Vita S. Oswaldi. pp. 211—221, Eadmeri liber de Vita S. Dunstani. pp. 222—226, Eadmeri epistola ad monachos Glastonienses de Corpore S. Dunstani. p. 238, Eadmeri epistola ad monachos Wigornienses de electione episcopi.

Eadmeri Cantuariensis Monachi Ordinis S. Benedicti Opera: labore ac studio Monachorum Congregationis S. Mauri restituta et emendata. fol. Paris, 1721. As a supplement to the works of Anselm. This collection contains the Vita Anselmi; Historia Novorum (with Selden's notes); De Excellentia Virginis Mariæ liber; De Quatuor Virtutibus quæ fuerunt in Beata Maria; De Beatitudine Cœlestis Patriæ liber; De Sancti Anselmi similitudinibus liber.

STEPHEN HARDING.

Stephen, whose patronymic Harding shows him to have belonged to a purely Anglo-Saxon family, was, as we are informed by William of Malmsbury, of obscure birth. At an early age he was entered as a monk in the Benedictine abbey of Shirburn; but, as he grew up, he became weary of a monastic life, and, quitting Shirburn, he visited Scotland and France, and in this latter country applied

himself for some time to literary studies. It seems that here his earlier ascetic feelings returned; he went with a fellow student on a pilgrimage to Rome, and, on his return thence, he resumed the monastic habit in the abbey of Molême in France. Dissatisfied with the conduct of his fellow monks in this establishment, he accompanied a small party to the desert of Cîteaux, where in 1098 they laid the foundation of a monastery and of an order which soon became numerous and powerful under the name of Cistercians.*

Stephen Harding is generally considered as the principal founder of the order. In 1109 or 1110 he became the third abbot of Cîteaux, and in 1113 Bernard of Clairvaux and others, who were afterwards the most distinguished ornaments of the order, placed themselves under him. In 1133, when very aged and weak, Stephen resigned his office, and he is said to have died on the 17th of April in the year following.

The only writings of Stephen Harding are some ordinances and sermons relating to his order, which have little connection with the literature of England. They have been printed separately or in the collections relating to the Cistercians.† The *Charta Caritatis*, a code of regulations for the order, is believed to be entirely his composition. But the work which gave him the greatest claim to literary distinction, was a revision of the Latin text of the Bible by comparison with the Hebrew,

* W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. lib. IV. p. 127. See the article on Stephen Harding in the Hist. Lit. de Fr. tom. xi. p. 213; and on the foundation of the order, P. Héliot, Hist. des Ordr. Relig.

† The *Charta Caritatis* is printed in the Menologium Cisterc. Antwerp, 1635; and in the Annales Cisterc. of Manriquez. An *Exordium parvum sui ordinis* was inserted in the Bibliotheca Cisterciensis, Paris, 1660. A sermon attributed to Stephen Harding is also printed by Manriquez, and another, by Bernard de Brito, Chron. Cist. lib. i. c. 22. Two of his letters will be found among those of St. Bernard. See Tanner.

which he is said to have had interpreted to him by some Jews. The original manuscript of this work appears to have been preserved in the library of Cîteaux down to the time of the French revolution.* Stephen is said to have undertaken this task in 1109.

PHILIP DE THAUN.

PHILIP DE THAUN is the first writer in the Anglo-Norman branch of the languages derived from the Latin of whom we have any distinct information, and he is, perhaps, the earliest poet in the *langue d'oil* of whom there are any remains. His name appears to have been derived from the manor of Than or Thaun near Caen in Normandy, and the Abbé de la Rue believed that he had traced the family of the poet in that neighbourhood. It is certain, however, that Philip himself lived and wrote in England, and that some branches of his family at least were established here. At the commencement of one of his works, he tells us that he wrote in honour of Adelaide of Louvaine, queen of Henry I.† which would lead us to believe that he was patronised by that princess, who came to England in 1121. The other poem of Philip de Thaun, the *Livre des Creatures*, is dedicated to his uncle Humphrey de Thaun, whom he describes as the chaplain of Yhun, Yun, or Ydun, seneschal of the king.‡ The Abbé de la

* Hist. Lit. de France, *ibid.*

† See the Popular Treatises on Science, p. 74.

‡ A sun uncle l'enveiet, quæ amender la deiet,
Si rien i ad mesdit ne en fait ne en escrit,
A Unfrei de Thaun, le chapelein Yhun (*al.* Yun, Ydun)
E seneschal lu rei, icho vus di par mei.
ib. p. 20.

Rue was of opinion that the person designated by this name was Hugh Bigot, afterwards created earl of Norfolk; but, from researches I have made since the publication of my edition of the text, I feel much more inclined to believe that he was Eudo,* commonly known by the title of Dapifer, another name for seneschal,† which office he had received from the Conqueror, and continued to enjoy during the reigns of his two sons, William Rufus and Henry I. till his death on the last day of February, 1120. Eudo Dapifer was the friend of Gundulf bishop of Rochester, and of several of the more distinguished ecclesiastics of his time, and is best known as the founder of the abbey of St. John at Colchester. We are thus enabled to fix with exactitude the time at which Philip de Thaun flourished; for one of the two poems by which he is known must have been written before the year 1120, and the other after 1121.

These two poems are chiefly interesting as valuable documents of the Anglo-Norman language. As poetical compositions they have little merit, and deserve no higher character than that of rhyming prose. They are written in lines of twelve syllables, the middle of each line rhyming with the end. The first of these poems, entitled the *Livre des Creatures,* is a treatise on astronomy as far as it was cultivated by the priesthood as a means of calculating the moveable times and seasons observed by the Church. The author appears not as an original writer, but as a mere compiler and translator from the older treatises on

* It appears that *Yun*, or *Eun*, was the common form in French and Anglo-Norman for Eudo; William of Newbury says of a person of that name, *Eudo* is dicebatur . . . . ita dementatus, ut quum sermone Gallico *Eun* diceretur, &c. W. Newbr. De Rebus Anglicis, lib. i. c. 19.

† Eudoni, quī erat major domus regiæ, quem nos vulgariter senescallum vel dapiferum vocamus. Historia Fundat. Abbat. S. Johan. Colecest. printed in the Monasticon, vol. IV. p. 607, last Edit.

the *Compotus* of Bede, Helperic, Turchil, and Gerland. He informs us that he composed this book for the use of the priests of his time, and from the terms in which he speaks of them we may conclude that many of them were not able to study this science in the Latin of the original writers. The second poem of Philip de Thaun, his Bestiary, is also translated and compiled from Latin originals. It is a book of natural history as that subject was then treated, consisting of brief, often fabulous, descriptions of animals, with long moralisations, in which the different characteristics of the animals are interpreted to represent symbolically the mysteries and doctrines of the Church. This mode of considering objects of animated nature was very popular during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The authorities which Philip de Thaun cites most frequently are two Latin tracts, which he calls *Physiologus* and *Bestiarius;* but, as several different treatises on the same subject were published under each of those names, it is not quite certain to which of them he refers. The account of the unicorn (here called *monosceros*), one of the shortest chapters, will best convey to the reader an idea of the language and style used by Philip de Thaun in his poems, as well as of the manner in which he treats natural history.

Monosceros est beste, un corn ad en la teste,
Pur çeo ad si à nun, de buc ad façun,
Par pucele est prise, or oez en quel guise.
Quant hom le volt cacer e prendre ⁊ enginner,
Si vent hom al forest ù sis repairs est;
Là met une pucele hors de sein sa mamele,
E par odurement monosceros la sent;
Dunc vent à la pucele, e si baiset sa mamele,
En sun devant se dort, issi vent à sa mort;
Li hom survent atant, ki l'ocit en dormant,
U trestut vif le prent, si fait puis sun talent.
Grant chose signefie, ne larei ne l' vus die.

Monosceros Griu est, en Franceis *un corn* est:
Beste de tel baillie Jhesu Crist signefie;
Un deu est e serat e fud e parmaindrat;
En la virgine se mist, e pur hom charn i prist,
E pur virginited pur mustrer casteed;
A virgine se parut e virgine le conceut,
Virgine est e serat e tuz jurz parmaindrat.
Or oez brefment le signefiement.
Ceste beste en verté nus signefie Dé;
La virgine signefie sacez Sancte Marie;
Par sa mamele entent sancte eglise ensement;
E puis par le baiser çeo deit signefier,
Que hom quant il se dort en semblance est de mort:
Dés cum hom dormi, ki en la cruiz mort sufri,
E sa destructiun nostre redemptiun,
E sun traveillement nostre reposement,
Si deceut Dés diable par semblant cuvenable;
Anme e cors sunt un, issi fud Dés ꝫ hom,
E çeo signefie beste de tel baillie.

Several manuscripts of the *Livre des Creatures* of Philip de Thaun have been preserved, but only one copy of the Bestiary is known to exist. Both have been printed.

Edition.

Popular Treatises on Science written during the Middle Ages, in Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and English. Edited by Thomas Wright. 8vo. London, 1841. pp. 20—73, Li Livre des Creatures, by Philip de Thaun. pp. 74—131, The Bestiary of Philip de Thaun. Each accompanied with a literal translation in English.

ROGER INFANS.

Roger, who for some reason or other (perhaps for his precocity of learning) obtained the appellation of *Infans*, and to whom Leland without any reason has given the name of Yonge, appears to have been distinguished as a mathematician of the old school at the era when the Arabian sciences were beginning to be introduced. The only work he is known to have written is a treatise on

the Compotus,* in which he appears to have enlarged and improved on the labours of his predecessors. Tanner, following Wood, has fallen into an error with regard to the date at which he lived, and appears to have confounded him with Roger of Hereford. He tells us himself that his treatise on the Compotus was published in 1124.† He says in his preface that at the time he composed this work, he had been occupied several years in teaching,‡ and he complains of the envy and jealousy to which he was exposed. The chief authorities he quotes are Gerland and Helperic, whom he frequently corrects. He informs us that at the time he wrote this book he was a young man. In the preface, of which the following is a portion, he gives us some account of his motives for the compilation of a treatise on the Compotus.

Præfatio magistri Rogeri Infantis in Compotum.

Cum non sit humanæ benevolentiæ rem pluribus sed, quod magis est, singulis necessariam infra terminos facilitatis includere, de compoto, quamvis difficillimum sit tantæ rei a viris summis sæpe et diligenter tractatæ aliquid novi addere, sed et præsumptuosum videatur juvenem tot senum scripta retractare, multorum tamen petitionibus quos ad hoc hujus scientiæ invitavit excellentia scribere compellor. Hoc namque, ut asserit Timæus Platonis, in beneficio oculorum seminarium totius extitit philosophiæ, quæ primo considerata mirabili motuum ac temporum variatione se erexit ad liberrimas humanæ naturæ excellentias, sermonem videlicet ac rationem exornandas; sermonem quidem scientia recte loquendi vel scribendi ad intelligentiam, argute vero disserendi ad fidem, ornate decorandi ad persuasionem; sed et rationem ipsam, ut sicut cuncta numero, pondere, et mensura consistunt, ita horum trium scientiis ad rerum naturam investigandum et superiorum et inferiorum pervexit. Necnon et ipsa theologia, quæ est de creatoris cog-

* The only copy known to exist is in the Bodleian library, MS. Digby, No. 40, fol. 21, r°., where it commences with the rubric (in a hand of the thirteenth century), Præfatio magistri Rogeri Infantis in Compotum.

† MS. Digby, No. 40, fol. 50, r°.

‡ Sed et otium quod mihi contingit pro regimine scholarum quibus jam pluribus annis desudavi, et pro destrictione rei familiaris quod non facile relinquit me immemorem sui, malebam in studendo mihi quam aliis consumere.

nitione, hanc sibi tanquam de eximia artium astronomia suam elegit portionem, non solum sibi sed omni vitæ tam communi quam studiosæ maxime necessitatem. Hanc tamen tantæ excellentiæ scientiam astrologi, naturæ superiorum secreta motuumque tam cœli quam stellarum certitudinem investigantes, compotumque ab illa certitudine multum discrepare reperientes, falsam ab omni philosophica disciplina abjiciendam arbitrantur. Sed et compotistæ inter se tanquam intestina prælia commoventes, naturales vulgarem compotum a sua subtilitate discrepantem, magisque sensuum opinionem quam rationis veritatem exsequentem abjiciunt, contra vulgares naturalem a sensibus amotam solique rationi patentem vanam inanemque scientiam, quasi nec oculis vidit nec auris audivit, appellant.

HILARIUS.

A POET of this name, belonging to the earlier half of the twelfth century, has left a small collection of light pieces in Latin rhymes, which are preserved in a manuscript now in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris. Different allusions in these poems, and the names of the friends to whom some of them are addressed, or who are commemorated in them, afford the strongest reasons for believing their author to have been an Englishman. He appears to have left his native land in order to become a disciple of Abelard, who also is the subject of one of his poems. It was addressed to that philosopher on the occasion of his temporary retirement from his school about the year 1125, and is the only one of them the date of which we are able to fix. There can be little doubt that all these poems were written in France.

The poems of Hilarius consist of three scriptural dramas, and a number of shorter pieces addressed to his friends of both sexes. They are all written in rhyming verse, in a style more or less playful, and some of them are interspersed with lines of French. The dramas, the subjects

of which are a miracle of St. Nicholas, the raising of Lazarus, and the history of Daniel, are the first rude outlines of the mysteries and miracle plays of a later age, and on that account possess considerable interest. The smaller poems are chiefly addressed to religious persons, and are of a serious character, although one or two appear to be nothing less than love songs. The style is that of most similar productions. The following lines from the poem in praise of Caliastrum (Chalautre-la-Petite, in the diocese of Sens) exhibits Hilarius in his best vein.

Regum aulas atque palatia
Clericorum æquant hospitia;
Sunt nimirum loca regalia,
Non eremi vastæ mapalia.

Vinetumque multum et fertile
Vinum confert firmum et nobile;
Nec Falernum est comparabile,
Nec gustavit Silenus simile.

Fontis quoque susurrans rivulus,
Per quem alte videtur calculus,
Pegasæo nimirum æmulus,
Voluptatis accedit cumulus.

Fons sincerus, fons indeficiens,
Fons per solem siccari nesciens,
Ad quem tendat doctrinam sitiens,
Inde bibat, et erit sapiens.

The first stanzas of the poem to Peter Abelard will show the manner in which Hilarius mixes French with his Latin; he alleges the indiscretion of a servant as the cause of the misunderstanding between Abelard and his scholars.

Lingua servi, lingua perfidiæ,
Rixæ motus, semen discordiæ,
Quam sit prava sentimus hodie,
Subjacendo gravi sententiæ.
Tort a vers nos li mestres.

Lingua servi, nostrum discidium,
In nos Petri commovit odium.
Quam meretur ultorem gladium,
Quia nostrum extinxit studium!
Tort a vers nos li mestre.

In the following lines from the same piece, Hilarius speaks of himself in a manner which would lead us to believe that at this time he was not a young man.

Heu! quam crudelis est iste nuncius
Dicens, "Fratres, exite citius:
Habitetur vobis Quinciacus;
Alioquin non leget monachus."
Tort a vers nos li mestre.

Quid, Hilari, quid ergo dubitas?
Cur non abis et villam habitas?
Sed te tenet diei brevitas,
Iter longum, et tua gravitas.
Tort a vers nos li mestre.

Ex diverso multi convenimus,
Quo logices fons erat plurimus;
Sed discedat summus et minimus,
Nam negatur quod hic quæsivimus.
Tort a vers nos li mestre.

We may cite as another specimen of the lyric talents of Hilarius a few lines from a poem addressed to an English lady named Rosea.

Ave, splendor puellarum,
generosa domina,
Gemma micans, sidus clarum,
speciosa femina,
Quæ præcellis, et non parum,
mulierum agmina,
Bonum ingens, bonum rarum,
mea lege carmina.

Crede mihi, cum natura
te primo composuit,
Ad probandum sua jura
te mundo proposuit.
Dotes multas, bona plura
tibi quidem tribuit;
Et quid posset sua cura
prudenter exhibuit.

Te produxit generosam
    parentum nobilitas,
Te produxit speciosam
    benigna nativitas;
Te severam, te jocosam
    doctrinæ frugalitas;
Nomen tuum signat rosam,
    et ecce virginitas.

The manuscript containing the only copy known of the poems of Hilarius remained long buried in the obscurity of private libraries. It was used by Duchesne, in 1616, and by Mabillon in 1713, after which it was entirely lost sight of till it was offered for sale at Paris in the library of M. de Rosny in 1837, and bought for the Bibliothèque Royale. Duchesne published the poem on Abelard in his edition of the works of the great scholastic writer.

Edition.

Hilarii Versus et Ludi. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1838, 12mo. Edited by M. Champollion-Figeac.

ATHELARD OF BATH.

ATHELARD* is the greatest name in English science before Robert Grossetête and Roger Bacon. His name would lead us to believe that he was of Saxon blood. He was born probably in the latter part of the eleventh century, and first quitted England to study in the schools of Tours and Laon. In the latter place he opened a school, and had among other disciples his nephew, to whom he appears to have been affectionately attached. But Athelard's love of knowledge was unsatisfied with

* In the Latin MSS. he is called Adelardus, *d* being the letter which in Latin afforded the nearest approximation to the sound of the English ð.

the state of science in France, and he left his school and crossed the Alps to Salerno, from whence he proceeded to Greece and Asia Minor,* and it is very probable that he went to study among the Arabs in the East. Bagdad and Egypt were then the seats of Arabian learning. On his arrival in his native country after an absence of seven years, the throne, he tells us, was occupied by Henry I.; † and one of the first books he published after his arrival, being dedicated to William bishop of Syracuse, must have been written before 1116, the date of that prelate's death. This tract, which bears some resemblance to the Judgment of Hercules by the Grecian Prodicus, and which is entitled *De eodem et diverso*, is an allegory, in which Athelard justifies his passion for the sciences; he introduces Philosophy and Philocosmia (or the love of wordly enjoyment) as appearing to him on the banks of the Loire in the form of two women, when he was a student at Tours, and disputing for the possession of his affections, until he threw himself into the arms of Philosophy, drove away her rival with disgrace, and entered on the path of learning with that ardour which induced him subsequently to seek instruction even among the distant Arabs. It appears that after his return from his travels he opened a school, probably in France or Normandy, where he taught the Arabian sciences. These were still new in the west of Europe, and were decried by many, and among others as it seems by Athelard's nephew. Athelard wrote one of his most popular works, the *Quæstiones Naturales*, to oppose this prejudice, and to give a

* Athelard de Eodem et Diverso, sub fine, cited by Jourdain, Récherches critiques sur les Traductions d'Aristote, p. 300.

† Cum in Angliam nuper redierim Henrico Willelmi Anglis imperante, quum a patria causa studii diu me exceperam, occursus amicorum et jocundus mihi fuit et commodus. Dedicat. Natural. Quæst. MS. Cotton. Galba, E. IV. fol. 214.

specimen of the doctrines on natural history which he had brought home. He reminds his nephew how, seven years before, when he had dismissed him (then a mere youth) with his other disciples, it had been agreed between them that he would himself go and seek the learning of the Arabs, and that his nephew should in the meantime make himself master of all the science which could be found among the Franks.* In reply, the nephew is made to express a distaste for his uncle's Saracenic doctrines, and for the extravagant terms in which he spoke of their superiority over the old studies of the western schools.† Athelard then proceeds to defend his opinions on this subject, and provokes his nephew to propose what were considered some of the most difficult questions in natural history.‡ In the following passage taken from the sixth chapter of this treatise, which will serve as a specimen of his style, Athelard describes briefly the principle of the school of natural philosophy which he was founding, and which was more perfectly developed at a later period by the great lord Bacon.

N. De istis quæ puerilia sunt, verisimilia magis quam necessaria dixisti. Quare ad ipsam animalium naturam ascendamus; ibi enim, ut animus mihi præsagit, scrupulum tibi innectam. *A.* De animalibus difficilis est mea tecum discertio. Ego enim aliud a magistris Arabicis ratione duce didici, tu

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* Meministi nepos quod septennio jam transacto, cum te in Gallicis studiis pene puerum juxta Laudisdonum una cum cæteris auditoribus meis dimiserim, id inter nos convenisse, ut Arabum studia ego pro posse meo scrutarer, tu vero Gallicarum sententiarum inconstantiam non minus adquireres. MS. Cotton. ib.

† Quia cum Saracenorum sententias te sæpe exponentem auditor tantum notaverim earumque non paucæ satis futiles mihi videantur.... Quippe et illos impudice extollis, et nostros detractionis modo inscitia invidiose arguis.

‡ Hoc tamen vitato incommodo, ne quis me ignota proferentem ex mea id sententia facere, verum Arabicorum studiorum sensa putet proponere .... Quare causam Arabum non meam agam.

vero aliud auctoritatis pictura captus capistrum sequeris. Quid enim aliud auctoritas dicenda est, quam capistrum? Ut bruta quippe animalia capistro quolibet ducuntur, nec quo aut quare ducuntur discernunt, restemque qua tenentur solum sequuntur, sic non paucos vestrum bestiali credulitate captos ligatosque auctoritas scriptorum in periculum ducit. Unde et quidam nomen auctoritatis sibi usurpantes nimia scribendi licentia usi sunt, adeo ut pro veris falsa bestialibus viris insinuare non dubitaverint. Cur enim chartas non impleas, cur et a tergo non scribas, cum tales fere hujus temporis auditores habeas, qui nullam sibi judicii rationem exigant, tituli tantum nomine vetusti confidant? Non enim intelligunt ideo rationem singulis datam esse, ut inter verum et falsum ea prima judice discernatur. Nisi enim ratio judex universalis esse deberet, frustra singulis data esset. Sufficeret enim præscriptorum scriptura data esse uni dico vel pluribus, cæteri eorum institutis et auctoritatibus essent contenti. Amplius, ipsi qui auctores vocantur non aliunde primam fidem apud minores adepti sunt, nisi quia rationem secuti sunt, quam quicunque sentiunt vel negligunt, merito cæci habendi sunt. Neque enim id ad vivum reseco, ut auctoritas me judice spernenda sit; id autem assero, quod prius ratio inquirenda sit, ea inventa auctoritas si adjacet demum subdenda est. Ipsa vero sola nec fidem philosopho facere potest, nec ad hoc adducenda est. Unde et logici locum ab auctoritate probabilem non necessarium esse consenserunt. Quare si quid aliud a me amplius audire desideras, rationem refer et recipe. Non enim ego ille sum quem pellis pictura pascere possit. Omnis quippe litera meretrix est, nunc ad hos nunc ad illos affectus exposita. *N.* Sit sane ut postulas, cum mihi rationabiliter opponere facile sit, neque Arabum tuorum auctoritates sequi tutum sit. Stet igitur inter me et te ratio sola judex, ut sit.

The manner in which Athelard speaks of the reception of the Arabian sciences seems to show that they were then quite new among the Christians of the West, and to contradict the opinion founded on a legend preserved by William of Malmsbury, that they had been introduced long before by Gerbert. We know nothing more of Athelard's personal history.* His celebrity was great in after times, and in the thirteenth century Vincent of Beauvais gives him the title of *Philosophus Anglorum.* Athelard's writings appear to have enjoyed a great popu-

* The date of Athelard's death is unknown. Mr. Hunter is inclined to think he may be the Adelardus de Bada mentioned in the pipe roll as residing in England in 1130. This is, however, at the least very doubtful; the name was very common in England, and I think it hardly probable that our Athelard would have been resident here at that time.

larity. We may divide them into two classes; original works and translations from the Arabic. Among the former are,

1. The treatise *De eodem et diverso* already mentioned, of which the only copy known to exist is preserved in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.* It is written in the form of a letter to his nephew, and dedicated to William bishop of Syracuse.

2. Tanner mentions a tract with the somewhat similar title of *De sic et non sic*, which he says commenced with the words, *Meministi ex quo incepimus.*

3. The *Quæstiones Naturales*, of which there are many manuscripts existing under a great variety of titles. This treatise was printed apparently as early as the fifteenth century. It is written, as already intimated, in the form of a dialogue between Athelard and his nephew, and is dedicated to Richard bishop of Bayeux (1108—1133). In this tract Athelard gives his opinions on various physical questions concerning animals, man, and the elements. At the conclusion he promises a treatise on higher philosophical subjects, *De initio et initiis.*

4. *Regulæ Abaci.* This tract, on a subject which since the time of Gerbert had employed the pens of a multitude of mathematicians, was perhaps one of Athelard's earliest writings. It is preserved in a MS. of the Library of Leyden, where it is preceded by a short preface containing Athelard's name,† and without the preface or

* No. 2389. An analysis of this treatise is given by Jourdain, Recherches critiques sur les Traductions d'Aristote, pp. 285—300.

† MS. Scaliger, No. I. The preface is as follows:—Adelardus philosophorum assecla ultimus H. suo salutem. Cum inter nonnulla fercula philosophiæ mensæ apposita nobis dextrorsum solitariis discumbentibus, proximi convivæ de parte secunda tripliciter sumerent, et me de quadrifida lance pauca ori tuo instillante omnia fastidius, quippe quæ ab aliis seposita et hactenus intemptata tibi videres, Pytagorium antidotum ante prælibasti. Perhaps *H* should be *N* (nepoti suo). The tract itself begins with the

name in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.*

5. A treatise on the Astrolabe, evidently taken from Arabian writers. A copy is preserved in the British Museum.† Leland, who sometimes speaks rather extravagantly of the style of the medieval writers, calls this "libellum argutum, numerosum, rotundum." It is certainly the one of Athelard's works which least merits that character.

6. *Problemata.* Leland mentions a work of Athelard's under this title which he had seen in the library of the Franciscans at London, but which had afterwards disappeared.

7. *De septem artibus liberalibus.* Tanner, on the authority of Boston of Bury, mentions a work of Athelard's bearing this title, written partly in prose and partly in verse, and commencing with the words, *Sæpenumero est a philosophis.*

8. A treatise on the Compotus, mentioned by Tanner as having formerly been in the library of the Earl of Stamford.

9. Tanner states that a tract is indicated in the old table of contents of a manuscript in the King's Library under the title *Liber magistri Adelardi Bathoniensis qui dicitur Mappæ clavicula,* but the tract itself had been torn out.‡

words, Pytagorici vero hoc opus composuerunt, et ea quæ magistro suo Ogtagora docente audierant, &c.

* MS. Bibl. Royale, Fonds de St. Victor, No. 533.

† MS. Arundel, No. 377, fol. 69, v°.

‡ Athelard's works appear to have been peculiarly unfortunate in accidents of this kind. I am informed by M. Chasles, that the old table of contents of a MS. in the library of Avranches contains the following titles of tracts which have been torn out:—

Astronomicorum præstigiorum Thebidis secundum Ptolomeum et Hermetem per Adelardum Bathoniensem ex Arabico translatus liber unus.

Isagoga minor Japharis mathematici in astronomiam per Adelardum Bathoniensem ex Arabico sumpta, liber unus.

The most important of Athelard's translations from the Arabic was,—

1. The Elements of Euclid. This became the text book of all succeeding mathematicians. The manuscripts of Athelard's Euclid are numerous. It was afterwards published with a commentary under the name of Campanus, and printed at Venice as early as 1482. Mr. Halliwell has mentioned some reasons for believing that the commentary also was in reality the work of Athelard.* Dr. Dee possessed a manuscript which contained translations of Euclid's Optics and Catoptrics under the name of Athelard.† Athelard also translated the following works,—

2. The *Isagoge minor Jafaris mathematici in Astronomiam.* There is a copy of this work in the Bodleian library.‡

3. *Ezich Elkauresmi, hoc est, tabulæ Chawaresmicæ ex Arabico traductæ.* A translation of the Kharismian tables. There is a copy of this also in the Bodleian library.§ Leland mentions a work translated from the Arabic by Athelard under the title *Erith Elcharetmi,* which Bale and Boston of Bury give more correctly *Ezich-Jafarim* or *Ezich-Jafaris*: it appears to be a corruption of Zydj Djafar, and was probably only another name for the Kharismian tables.

4. The *Præstigia astronomica Thebidis,* which formerly existed in a manuscript of the library of Avranches, indicated in a note on the preceding page.

Perhaps some other tracts of Athelard exist in manuscripts as yet unexamined, or pass as anonymous treatises. M. Jourdain was inclined to attribute to him a piece en-

* See Halliwell's Rara Mathematica, p. 57, where an account is given of the principal MSS. of Athelard's Euclid.

† Dr. Dee's Diary, edited by Halliwell, p. 67.

‡ MS. Digby, No. 68, fol. 121.

§ MS. Hatton, No. 112.

titled *Liber imbrium secundum Indos,* preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.*

Editions.

Sequitur tabula istius libelli...... Incipit prologus Adelardi Bathoniensis in suas questiones naturales perdifficiles. At the end, Expliciunt questiones naturales Adelardi Bachoniensis. Laus deo et virgini, AMEN. Qui petit occultas rerum agnoscere causas Me videat, quia sum lævis explanator earum. 4to. without other title, or the name of place or date, but printed in an early shaped Gothic type. There are two different editions answering to this description, the one evidently a reprint of the other. They are both in the British Museum.

Martene and Durand, Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum. Tomus I. Lutet. Paris, 1717, fol. col. 291. The preface to the Naturales Quæstiones.

Jourdain, Recherches Critiques sur l'age et l'origine des Traductions Latines d'Aristote. Paris, 1819. 8vo. pp. 494—497. The dedication and commencement of Athelard's treatise De eodem et diverso.

SIMEON OF DURHAM.

All that we know of Simeon is that he was a monk of the monastery of Durham, where he held the office of precentor. His history of the kings of England closes with the year 1129, soon after which date it is probable that he died. He appears to have been a man of no original talent, for he is not only said to have published Turgot's History of Durham under his own name, but a large portion of his own history of the kings of England is a literal copy of the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester. Simeon's compilation is however valuable for many details of northern history, taken from sources which are no longer known. It is difficult to describe the peculiar style of such a compiler as this, who makes so free with the property of others. The following observations on the death of the Scottish king Malcolm, in 1093, are perhaps his own.

Rex Scottorum Malcholmus et primogenitus filius ejus Eadwardus cum multis aliis in Northymbria, die festivitatis sancti Bricii, a militibus Rod-

* MSS. Bibl. Roy. Nos. 7316 and 7329.

berti Northimbrorum comitis occisi sunt. In cujus morte justitia judicantis Dei aperte consideratur, ut videlicet in illa provincia cum suis interiret, quam sæpe ipse vastare avaritia stimulante consuevit; quinquies namque illam atroci depopulatione attrivit, et miseros indigenas in servitutem redigendos abduxit captivos. Semel Eadwardo regnante, quando Tosti comes Eboracensis profectus Romam fuerit. Iterum regnante Willielmo, quando etiam Clivelandam depopulatus est. Tertio regnante eodem rege Willielmo usque Tynam progressus, post cædes hominum et concremationes locorum multa cum præda revertitur. Quarto regnante Willielmo juniore, cum suis copiis infinitis usque Ceastram, non longe a Dunelmo sitam, pervenit, animo intendens ulterius progredi; sed adunata contra eum militari manu non multa metu ipso citius revertitur. Quinto cum omni quo potuit exercitu in ultimam deducturus desolationem Northymbriam invasit, sed juxta flumen Alne perimitur cum primogenito suo Eadwardo, quem hæredem regni post se disposuerat. Exercitus illius vel gladiis confoditur, vel qui gladios fugerunt inundatione fluminum, quæ tunc pluviis hiemalibus plus solito concreverant, absorpti sunt. Corpus vero regis, cum suorum nullus remaneret qui terra illud cooperiret, duo ex indigenis carro impositum in Tynemuthe sepelierunt. Sicque factum est ut ubi multos vita et rebus et libertate privaverat, ibidem ipse Dei judicio vitam simul cum rebus amitteret. Cujus morte cognita, regina Scottorum Margareta tanta affecta est tristitia, ut subito magnam incideret infirmitatem. Nec mora, presbyteris ad se accersitis, ecclesiam intravit, eisque peccata sua confessa, oleo se perungi cœlestique muniri viatico fecit, Deum assiduis et precibus intentissimis exorans, ut in hac ærumnosa vita diutius illam vivere non permitteret. Nec multo tardius exaudita est. Nam post tres dies occisionis regis, soluta carnis vinculis, ut creditur ad gaudia transivit æternæ salutis. Quippe dum viveret justitiæ, pacis, et caritatis cultrix extitit devota, frequens in orationibus corpus vigiliis et jejuniis maceravit, ecclesias et monasteria ditavit, servos et ancillas Dei dilexit et honoravit, esurientibus panem frangebat, nudos vestiebat, omnibus peregrinis ad se venientibus hospitia, vestimenta, et alimenta præbebat, et Deum tota mente diligebat. Qua mortua Dufenaldum regis Malcholmi fratrem Scotti sibi in regem elegerunt, et omnes Anglos qui de curia regis extiterunt, de Scotia expulerunt.

Twysden, who gave an edition of Simeon's edition of Turgot, and of his history of the English kings, also printed a letter from Simeon to Hugh dean of York, containing an account of the archbishops of that see.

Editions.

Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X . . . ex Vetustis Manuscriptis nunc primum in lucem editi. (by Twysden) Londini, 1652, fol. coll. 1—58, Simeonis, monachi Dunelmensis, Historia de Dunelmensi Ecclesia.—coll. 75—82, Epistola Simeonis monachi . . . ad Hugonem decanum

Eboracensem de archiepiscopis Eboraci. — coll. 85—256, Simeonis Dunelmensis Historia de gestis regum Anglorum.

Symeonis monachi Dunhelmensis Libellus de exordio atque procursu Dunhelmensis ecclesiæ. Cui præmittitur reverendi viri Thomæ Rud erudita disquisitio, in qua probatur non Turgotum, sed Symeonem fuisse verum hujus libelli auctorem. E codice MS. perantiquo in Bibliotheca publica Episcoporum Dunhelmensium descripsit ediditque Thomas Bedford. Accedunt, præter alia, ex codice Historiæ Dunhelmensium episcoporum Continuatio: et Libellus de injusta vexatione Willelmi I. episcopi, nunc primum editus. Londini, 1732. 8vo.

Collection of Historians edited by order of the Record Commission, vol. i. pp. 645—688, Simeonis Dunelmensis Historia de Gestis Regum Anglorum, ab A.D. DC.XVI. adusque A.D. DCCCC.LVII.

GILBERT BISHOP OF LONDON.

This prelate, who from the diversity of his learning obtained the title of Gilbertus Universalis, is said to have been a native of Bretagne.* He appears among the clergy of Auxerre as early as the year 1110, when his name occurs as one of the witnesses to a deed of the abbey of Fleury, with the title of *magister*, which seems to show that he then directed the schools of Auxerre, as we know he did those of Nevers when he was called to the bishopric of London in 1127.† We know little further of his history, except that he died at an advanced age on the other side of the Alps, in his way to Rome. The date of Gilbert's death appears to be somewhat doubtful; Wharton ‡ places it on the 10th of August, 1134; but the continuator of Florence of Worcester gives 1138 as the year of his decease, and an authority quoted by Leland fixes it in 1139.§

* Richard of Poitiers, ap. Martene, Ampl. Col. vol. v. col. 1172.

† Hist. Lit. de France, tom. xi. p. 236.

‡ De Episc. London, p. 51.

§ Conf. Tanner, Biblioth. p. 318, and Godwin. de Episc.

Even the character of bishop Gilbert is differently represented. St. Bernard, who corresponded with him, speaks in the highest terms of his exemplary poverty and of his charity;* while Henry of Huntingdon, who was also his contemporary, charges him with avarice and extortion, and says that a vast sum was found in his treasury after his death, which was seized by the king, because he died without a testament. The old writers are, however, unanimous with regard to his great learning. The author just cited declares that there was not his equal in science on this side of Rome.† Yet the only writings attributed to him are a gloss on the whole Bible, said to have been composed while he resided at Auxerre, which the writers of the Histoire Littéraire de France speak of as being extant in the last century; and glosses on some detached books of Scripture, viz. the Lamentations, the Psalter, and the Song of Solomon.

AILMER.

AILMER, Aelmer, or Ealmer (the name is differently spelt) was one of the most remarkable ascetic writers of the reign of Henry I. All we know of his personal history at present appears to be that he was made prior

* Epist. S. Bernardi, Ep. xxiv.

† Quid memorem Gislebertum cognomine Universalem, episcopum Lundoniensem? Non fuit ad usque Romam par ei scientia. Artibus erat eruditissimus, theoria singularis et unicus; fama igitur celebris et splendidus. Quapropter dum scholas regeret in Nivernis Galliæ, ad summum Lundoniæ sacerdotium vocatus est, et exoratus accessit. Qui magna expectatione susceptus, cœpit avaritiæ crimine deservire: multa perquirens, pauca largiens. Moriens siquidem nihil divisit. Sed infinitam thesauri copiam rex Henricus in ejus delitiis invenit. Ocreæ etiam episcopi auro et argento refertæ in fiscum regium allatæ sunt. Unde vir summæ scientiæ ab omni populo habitus est pro stultissimo. Henr. Hunt. Epist. ad Walterum, ap. Wharton, Angl. Sac. p. 698.

of Canterbury in 1128, and that he died on the 11th of May, 1137.* Few of his writings are now preserved, unless they lie concealed in some of the cathedral libraries. A manuscript in the Cottonian library, now nearly destroyed by the fire,† contained his epistles to different monks of his house or neighbourhood; and another copy is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.‡ His other works were, a book of sermons or homilies, and a treatise in five books, *De exercitiis spiritualis vitæ*, both which works were seen by Leland in the monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury; and different treatises, entitled, *De bono vitæ claustralis*, *Recordationes beneficiorum Dei*, *Contra hujus mundi miserias*, *De inquisitione Dei*, and *De absentia vultus Dei*, enumerated by Bale, who gives the first words of each.

MINOR WRITERS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY I.

RADULPH bishop of Rochester, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, whom John of Bromton calls Radulph de Turbine,§ is known as the author of a collection of homilies still extant.‖ We learn from William of Malmsbury,¶ that he had been first a monk, and afterwards successively subprior, prior, and abbot of Sées, in Normandy, from whence he was driven by the tyranny of Robert de Belesme. On his arrival in England he lived as a guest in different abbeys, and in the household of

* See Wharton, Angl. Sacr. vol. i. p. 137.

† Otho A. XII.

‡ MS. Gale, Trin. Coll. Cant. O. 10, 16.

§ See Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 762.

‖ In a MS. in the Bodleian library, MS. Laud, D. 49.

¶ W. Malmsb. de Pontif. lib. i. p. 230, who gives a detailed account of his episcopate. It is not probable that, as Tanner seems to have supposed, he was the same person as the Radulph monk of Caen, who accompanied Lanfranc to England, and was made abbot of Battle.

archbishop Anselm, with whom he had been on terms of intimacy in his youth, until the death of bishop Gundulf in 1108, when Anselm obtained for him the bishopric of Rochester, whence, six years afterwards, he was elected to succeed his patron as archbishop of Canterbury. He died on the 20th of October, 1122. William of Malmsbury, who was his contemporary, bears witness to his piety, his learning, and his liberality.* Several letters of this prelate, chiefly relating to Eadmer, are printed in the *Concilia* of Wilkins.† Much of his time was occupied in the disputes with Thurstan of York concerning the primacy.

NICHOLAS prior of Worcester is only known to us as the writer of two tracts or letters addressed to Eadmer, on the claims of the archbishops of York to primacy over the Scotish bishopric of St. Andrew's, and on the mother of king Edward the Confessor.‡ Nicholas was of Anglo-Saxon blood, and had been baptised by bishop Wulstan, whose favour he enjoyed until that prelate's death. After having received his earlier lessons in literature from Wulstan's own lips, Nicholas was sent to Canterbury to profit by the teaching of Lanfranc, where probably he became acquainted with Eadmer. He was made prior of Worcester under bishop Theulph, who succeeded Sampson in the see of Worcester in 1115. Nicholas died on the 24th of June, 1124. William of Malmsbury, to whom we owe all our information concerning Nicholas, frequently cites his oral testimony in his life of Wulstan, and describes him as

* Religione impar nulli, peritia literarum magnifica pollens, affabilitate certe facile omnium primus, qui fortunarum amplitudine nihil plus acquisierit, nisi ut plus benefacere posset quibus vellet. W. Malmsb. ib. p. 232.

† Wilkins, Concil. vol. i. pp. 394—396.

‡ Preserved in MS. Corp. Chr. College, Cambridge, No. 371, arts. 3 and 4. The one relating to the primacy of the bishops of York is printed in the Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. pp. 234—236.

a man whose zeal for learning had done much towards introducing a taste for letters among the monks of Worcester.*

Geoffrey, or, according to some, Stephen,† dean of Landaff, was brother of Urbanus, who had been made bishop of Landaff in 1107, at the age of thirty-two. He was present at the translation of the remains of St. Dubricius in 1120. He is known chiefly by a life of the Welsh saint Teliavus or Teilo; but is said to have also compiled, at the request of his brother, the Register of the Church of Landaff, which has been recently published.

Editions.

Anglia Sacra, (Edited by H. Wharton.) Pars secunda, Lond. 1691, fol. pp. 662—666. Vita S. Teliavi episcopi Landavensis, authore Galfrido alias Stephano Landavensi.

The Liber Landavensis, Llyfr Teilo, or the ancient register of the Cathedral church of Llandaff; from MSS. in the Libraries of Hengwrt, and of Jesus College, Oxford: with an English Translation and explanatory notes, by the Rev. W. J. Rees. Published for the Welsh MSS. Society. Llandovery, 1840. 8vo.

Contemporary with Geoffrey of Landaff, lived another writer of the same class, Benedict monk of St. Peter's at Gloucester, to whom we owe a life of St. Dubricius. As in that work he describes the translation of the remains of Dubricius, which took place in 1120, it is supposed that his life of Dubricius was published shortly after that date;‡ but we have no other information respecting him.

Edition.

Anglia Sacra. (Edited by Henry Wharton.) Pars secunda. Lond. 1691,

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* W. Malmsb. de Vit. S. Wulstani, lib. iii. c. 17, ap. Wharton, Angl. Sac.

† In the title to his book in MS. Cotton. Vespas. A. xiv. he is spoken of as Galfrido, i. e. Stephano, Urbani Landavensis episcopi fratri.

‡ Wharton, Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. xxvii. (Præfat.)

fol. pp. 644—661. Vita S. Dubricii Archiepiscopi Urbis Legionum. Authore Benedicto monacho Claudiocestrensi.

Another literary Welsh bishop of this period, although by birth a Scotchman, was DAVID of Bangor. It appears that he left his native country in search of learning, and settled at Wurzburg, in Germany, where he attracted the attention of the emperor Henry V., who made him one of his chaplains. Henry, having succeeded his father in 1106, continued his hostilities against the pope, and, invading Italy in 1111, made the sovereign pontiff his captive, and forced him to concede his demands relating to the German churches. David was employed by the emperor to write the history of this expedition, in which William of Malmsbury informs us that he exhibited too much partiality for his imperial patron;* a circumstance which probably has hindered it from being preserved, for neither this nor any other of his writings are now known to be extant. On his return to his native island, David was made bishop of Bangor in 1120. He is mentioned by the continuator of Florence of Worcester as being alive in 1125, after which we have no information relating to him. Bale, without any apparent authority, attributes to him three other works under the titles, *Magistratuum insignia*, lib. i., *Apologium ad Cæsarem*, lib. i., *De Regno Scottorum*, lib. i. Dempster states incorrectly that there were some of his works amongst the manuscripts of Corpus Christi college, Cambridge.†

We may add to the foregoing list of minor writers GILBERT archdeacon of Buckingham, to which office he was

* Sed iter illud ad Romam.... David Scottus Bancornensis episcopus exposuit, magis in regis gratiam quam historicum deceret acclivus. W. Malmsb. de Hist. Reg. lib. v. p. 166.

† See Tanner, and the continuator of Florence of Worcester, ad an. 1125.

appointed by Robert bishop of Lincoln, who died in the beginning of 1123. He was succeeded, probably on his death, by Roger, who was made bishop of Chester in 1129. Gilbert is only known to us through Henry of Huntingdon, who says that he had written in verse and in prose.*

Early in the reign of Henry I. GEOFFREY, a Norman scholar of the University of Paris, was invited to England by Richard abbot of St. Alban's, to superintend the school of Dunstable. He there composed a play of St. Katharine (*ludum S. Katherinæ*), written without doubt in Latin, which was acted by his scholars, and he borrowed copes from the sacrist of St. Alban's to dress the characters.† This is the earliest mention of a dramatic piece acted in England. In 1119, Geoffrey was elected abbot of St. Alban's. He died in 1146.

Two archbishops of York during this reign enjoyed some literary reputation. THOMAS of Bayeux, the nephew of the first archbishop Thomas, after being one of the king's chaplains, was made archbishop of York in 1109, and died in 1114. He is said to have imitated his uncle in composing hymns for the public service of the church, and Bale also attributes to him an *Officiarium ejusdem ecclesiæ*.

THURSTAN, his successor, was one of the few English clergy of that age who were elevated to dignities in the church. He had been previously a canon of St. Paul's and one of the king's chaplains. On his election he revived the old dispute concerning the primacy, and after much trouble was consecrated by the pope in 1119, with-

* Buchingeham præposuit Aluredum parvum, cui successit Gislebertus, versibus et prosa et habitu curialissimus, quibus successit Rogerus jam Cestrensis episcopus effectus. Henr. Hunt. Epist. ad Walterum, ap. Angl. Sac. vol. ii. p. 696. Tanner enters Gilbert in his Bibliotheca under the name *Dorcadius* (*Gilbertus*).

† Matth. Paris, Vit. Abbat. p. 56. Conf. Warton, Hist. of English Poetry, vol. i. p. cxii.

out having taken the oath of submission to the see of Canterbury. But the king and archbishop of Canterbury were with difficulty compelled by the threats of the pope to allow him to take possession of his see.* On the 21st of January 1140, Thurstan resigned the archbishopric, and retired to the abbey of Pontefract, where he died on the 5th of February following. He wrote a long epistle to William archbishop of Canterbury, on the origin of Fountains abbey, which is printed in the Monasticon. His *Constitutio de debitis clericorum defunctorum* was printed by Wilkins.† Bale attributes to him two other works, *De suo primatu ad Calixtum papam*, lib. i. and *Contra juniorem Anselmum*, lib. i., which perhaps never existed.

Stephen, abbot first of Whitby and afterwards of St. Mary's at York, has left a short history of the foundation of the last-mentioned abbey, which is printed in the Monasticon, under the name of Simon of Warwick. The writers of the Literary History of France have stated good reasons for believing that this man was a native of Britany or Normandy: he was the friend of Alan, son of Eudo, duke of Britany. He went to Whitby in 1078, and, being driven thence with his monks by the persecutions of William de Percy, he established himself at York in 1088, and remained there till his death in 1112. He was in favour with William the Conqueror and William Rufus, and the latter was a patron of his abbey of York.‡

* See W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 275, and Godwin de Episcopis. Ordericus Vitalis, p. 858.

† Concil. Mag. Brit. et Hib. vol. i. p. 412.

‡ See the Hist. Lit. de Fr. tom. x. p. 16.

SECTION III.—THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.

ORDERICUS VITALIS.

ORDERICUS was born, as he informs us,* on the 17th of February, 1075, at the village of Attingesham (now Atcham), on the banks of the Severn, about three miles from Shrewsbury. His father Odelerius was a married priest, and quitted his native city of Orleans to accompany Roger de Montgomery to England, who presented him to the church of Shrewsbury. The child was baptized by Ordericus, the priest of Attingesham, from whom he received his name. At the age of five years he was entrusted to the care of another priest named Siward, to be instructed in the rudiments of learning, and remained with him till his tenth year, when he was transferred to the care of a monk of the name of Raynald, who carried him to Normandy in 1085, for the purpose of dedicating him to a monastic life in the abbey of Ouche (Uticum) or St. Evroult in the diocese of Lisieux. He soon made rapid advances in the favour of his abbot Mainerius, and of all the brotherhood; his education was entrusted to the subprior, John; and in 1086 he received the tonsure and the monastic habit, on which occasion he changed his name of Ordericus for that of Vitalis, the saint on whose festival he became a monk. He was ordained a sub-deacon at the age of sixteen, and deacon two years later. Fifteen years afterwards, in his thirty-third year, A. D. 1107, he was made a priest. A

* At the beginning of the fifth book of his history. All our materials for the life of Ordericus are found in his own writings.

considerable portion of his life appears to have been spent in collecting materials for his History, and it seems that he visited England several times with this object.* All that we know relating to his death is that it must have occurred subsequently to 1143, as events of that year are mentioned in his writings.

The thirteen books of the Ecclesiastical History, as he has entitled it, of Ordericus Vitalis, (for he is generally cited by both names,) exhibit many marks of having been composed at different periods, and also of having been retouched subsequently to their first publication. The first two books form in themselves a complete work, consisting of a chronicle from the birth of Christ to his own time, in which Ordericus dwells chiefly on the history of the church. This portion of the history, which was commenced, as he tells us, at the desire of his abbot Roger, and therefore previous to the year 1123 (when he resigned), is dedicated to his successor, abbot Guarin, who died in 1137; it was probably completed in 1136, at which date the second book concludes. Yet before the last paragraph we find an account of events which happened in 1138 and 1139, and under the date 1136 is an allusion to the captivity of king Stephen in 1141. These, as well as the concluding paragraphs of a chronology of the popes, brought down to the year 1142, must have been added to the original compilation at a later period.

It is clear that the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth books, also formed originally a distinct work. They contain the history of the wars of the Normans in England, France, and Apulia, down to the death of William the Conqueror,

* He speaks, on one occasion, of having examined an historical book at Worcester. Unum eorum [codicum] Wigornæ vidi in Anglia. lib. iii. *sub fine.* He also visited Croyland, of the history of which he gives some details.

with that of most of the Norman bishoprics and monasteries. These three books were also dedicated to the abbot Guarin. It is probable that they were published before any other portion of the work; for at the beginning of the fifth book Orderic speaks of having written previously no more than two books (the third and fourth of his work as it now stands), and calls that he was then commencing the third.* At the end of the fourth book the author tells us that he was obliged to discontinue his work by the approaching rigours of winter; and at the commencement of the fifth book he states that he had then been a monk forty-two years, which, by comparison with the other dates he gives us connected with his own life, proves that he wrote that book in the year 1128. The sixth book appears to have been written, or at least completed, about the year 1135.

The third part of the work, consisting of the remaining seven books, continues the history from the death of William the Conqueror to A.D. 1141. It commences with a brief chronology of the kings of France to the time of William's death. This part of the work appears to have been composed at different periods, perhaps in fragments, which were afterwards joined together and revised. The ninth book appears, by internal evidence, to have been written in 1129. In the tenth book, which ends with the year 1101, we find allusions connected with the year 1133. The twelfth book was written in 1138, for Ordericus states there that Hugh de Montfort had been in prison fourteen years at the time he wrote it, and we know that that nobleman was committed to prison in 1124. In the

* Jam duos opitulante Deo libellos edidi, quibus de raparatione sedis nostræ et de tribus abbatibus nostris.... Amodo tertium ab anno incarnationis Dominicæ M°lxx°v° libellum exordiar. Ord. Vit. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. § 1.

same book Ordericus applies a prophecy of Merlin, and quotes it in the words of Geoffrey of Monmouth; this must have been added after the publication of Geoffrey's version of Merlin's prophecies, which appeared some time before the same writer's History of the Britons.

On the whole, the thirteen books of Ordericus Vitalis form one of the most valuable of our old historical works. The earlier part of his compilation is nearly all taken from the common authorities for ecclesiastical history, which, as well as the works of the historians of his own time and of the ages which immediately preceded it, he seems to have sought and used with great diligence; but he is rich in original information on the history of Normandy and England, during the period which followed the accession of William the Conqueror to the English throne. The greatest faults of Ordericus as a writer are his want of system and method, and his frequent episodes and interruptions. He is also often inaccurate, even in the events of his own time, in dates and in minor details; and in more than one instance he gives different dates for the same event in different parts of his book, an error into which he was liable to fall by his desultory manner of writing. His Latinity, without possessing any great excellency, is that of a man of learning and education. The following is his account of the coronation of William the Conqueror.

Denique anno ab incarnatione Domini MLXVII° [i. e. 1066*] indictione v^{a}. in die natalis Domini, Angli Lundoniæ ad ordinandum regem convenerunt, et Normannorum turmæ circa monasterium in armis et equis (ne quid doli et seditionis oriretur) præsidio dispositæ fuerunt. Adelredus itaque archiepiscopus in basilica Sancti Petri apostolorum principis, quæ Westmonasterium nuncupatur, ubi Eduardus rex venerabiliter humatus quiescit, in præsentia præsulum et abbatum, procerumque totius regni Albionis, Guil-

* According to the style of computation used by Ordericus, Christmas Day was the first day of the year 1067.

lermum ducem Normannorum in regem Anglorum consecravit, et diadema regium capiti ejus imposuit. Interea, instigante Satana, qui bonis omnibus contrarius est, importuna res utrique populo, et portentum futuræ calamitatis, ex improviso exortum est. Nam dum Adelredus præsul alloqueretur Anglos, et Goisfredus Constantiniensis Normannos, an concederent Guillelmum regnare super se, et universi consensum hilarem protestarentur una voce, non unius linguæ locutione, armati milites, qui extrinsecus erant pro suorum tuitione, mox ut vociferationem gaudentis in ecclesia populi et ignotæ linguæ strepitum audierunt, rem sinistram arbitrati, flammam ædibus imprudenter injecerunt. Currente festinanter per domos incendio, plebs quæ in ecclesia lætabatur perturbata, et multitudo virorum ac mulierum diversæ dignitatis et qualitatis infortunio perurgente celeritur basilicam egressa est. Soli præsules et pauci clerici cum monachis nimium trepidantes antè aram persstiterunt, et officium consecrationis super regem vehementer trementem vix peregerunt, aliique pene omnes ad ignem nimis furentem cucurrerunt, quidam ut vim foci viriliter occarent, et plures ut in tanta perturbatione sibi prædas diriperent. Angli factionem tam insperatæ rei dimetientes nimis irati sunt, et postea Normannos semper suspectos habuerunt, et infidos sibi dijudicantes ultionis tempus de eis optaverunt.

Dr. Lappenberg, who has given a particular and detailed account of the historical work of Ordericus, and of the sources of his information,* observes that it appears to have been very little known in the Middle Ages. Camden, in his Collection of Historical Writers, printed from a manuscript at Caen an anonymous piece, under the title *De Willielmo Conquestore Fragmentum*, which is nothing more than a portion of the seventh book of Ordericus Vitalis. The entire work was first printed in the collection of Duchesne in 1619; but no person had undertaken a separate edition before the very excellent one now in progress of publication by M. Le Prevost.

Editions.

Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui.... Ex MSS. Codd. omnia fere nunc primum edidit Andreas Duchesnius Turonensis. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1619. fol. pp. 321—925. Orderici Vitalis Angligenæ, cœnobii Uticensis monachi, Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ libri XIII.

Orderici Vitalis Angligenæ, cœnobii Uticensis monachi, Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ libri tredecim; ex veteris codicis Uticensis collatione emendavit,

* Geschichte von England, vol. ii. pp. 378—393.

et suas animadversiones adjecit Augustus le Prevost. Tomus Primus. Parisiis, 1838. Tomus Secundus. ib. 1840. In the course of publication by the Societé de l'Histoire de France.

Translation.

Orderic Vital, Histoire de Normandie. 4 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1825—1827. Translated by M. Louis Dubois, and forming the twenty-fifth and following volumes of the 'Collection des Mémoires' published under the direction of M. Guizot.

ROBERT DE RETINES.

The first Englishman after Athelard, as far as we can discover, who travelled among the Arabs to indulge his ardour in the pursuit of science was Robert de Retines.* Leland tells us, but without stating any authority, that he studied first in England, and that he afterwards travelled through France, Italy, Dalmatia, and Greece, into Asia, where he made himself master of the Arabic language, and then returned to Spain. At present we have no authority extant for supposing that he obtained his knowledge of Arabic elsewhere than in the latter country, where be formed a close friendship with another zealous scholar, Hermann the Dalmatian, and they appear to have studied the Arabian sciences together at Evora. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, began about this time to show his religious zeal against the doctrines of Mohammed, and determined to visit Spain in order to obtain more exact

* In the MSS. the name is sometimes spelt Ketines, perhaps by a mere error of the scribe. He seems to have been confounded with a Robert Ketene, or de Ketene, who lived more than a century later. Some modern writers have, without any reason, called him Robert of Reading: I believe they are wrong in supposing his name to have any connection with that town.

information on the religious opinions of the Arabs; he found our two philosophers studying 'astrology' at Evora, and by offers of a great reward he prevailed upon them to quit for a time their favourite pursuits in order to translate the Koran.* This work they completed to his satisfaction in the year 1143,† at which time, or immediately after, as we learn from the abbot Peter's letter, Robert was made archdeacon of Pampeluna. We know nothing more of his history. Pits states, apparently from mere conjecture, that he died at Pampeluna in 1143. The date is probably quite incorrect. In the preface to the translation of Ptolemy's Planisphere by Hermann, and which was probably written some time after the publication of the translation of the Koran, Hermann speaks of his friend Robert, and in a manner which would almost lead us to believe that he had some share in this work also.‡

Although the translation of the Koran was the joint

* Interpretantibus scilicet viris utriusque linguis peritis, Roberto Retenensi de Anglia, qui nunc Papilonensis ecclesiæ archidiaconus est, Hermanno quoque Dalmata, acutissimi et literati ingenii Scholastico; quos in Hispania circa Hiberum astrologicæ arti studentes inveni, eosque ad hæc faciendum multo pretio conduxi.—Peter's Letter to Bernard of Clairvaux, introductory to the *Summa*, or brief treatise, on the Mohammedan religion, which he had caused to be translated by Peter of Toledo and a monk of Cluny, also called Peter. M. Jourdain, Recherches Critiques sur les Traductions d'Aristote, p. 101, has fallen into an error in supposing that Peter had any share in the translation of the Koran.

† We learn this from the conclusion of the book,—Illustri gloriosoque viro Petro Cluniacensi abbate præcipiente, tuus Angligena Robertus Retenensis librum istum transtulit, anno Domini MCXLIII, Anno Alexandri MCCCCIII, anno Alhigeræ DXXXVII, anno Persarum quingentesimo undecimo.

‡ Tuam itaque virtutem quasi propositum intuentes speculum, ego et unicus atque illustris socius Rodbertus Retenensis, nequitiæ displicere licet plurimum possit, perpetuum habemus propositum, cum, ut Tullius meminit, misera sit fortuna cui nemo inviderat. MS. Reg. Paris. No. 7377, B. This preface, which is not found in the printed editions, is addressed to his 'preceptor Theodoricus,' probably a Spaniard in whose school the two friends pursued their studies.

work of Robert and Hermann, the prefatory epistle is written in the name of the former only. Robert de Retines gives the following account of the sentiments with which it was undertaken. The work itself is a tolerably literal translation from the Arabic.

Unde quanquam te velut alumnum et hæredem sapientiæ cohors sapientium circumflua constipet, suas manus tuis nutibus benigne conferens; quorum conventu me minime dignum adhuc sentio: vestrum tamen munusculum, puteum præsignatum pandens, saltem semel non oblique tuus perspicax intuitus, quæso dignetur aspicere. Quanquam enim in effragili fulcitum ingeniolo plura præcesserunt incommoda, tum hinc eloquii penuria, illinc scientiæ tenuitas, tum id quod ad nil agendum est efficacius, secordiæ videlicet negligentiæque mater desperatio multiplex ob translationis nostræ vilem et dissolubilem ac incompaginatam materiam, pro sui modo prorsus, Arabico tantum semoto velamine, tuæ magestati præbendam, non minus tamen obnixe tuum obsequium aggressus sum: confisus nil effectu quassari, quo tuum votum igne divino plenum adspirat. Lapides igitur et ligna, ut tuum deinde pulcherrimum et commodissimum ædificium coagmentatum et indissolubile surgat, nil excerpens, nil sensibiliter nisi propter intelligentiam tantum alterans, attuli, Machometique fumum, ad ipsius tuis follibus extinctum, et puteum ad illius exhaustum, tuo vase, ignisque vestri tuo ventilabro fomentum atque fervorem, nostrique fontis eductu tuo discursum, patefeci. Jus igitur exigit, ut hostium castrum, imo caveam delendo, puteum exsiccando, cum tu sis dextra mundi pars optima, cos religionis acutissima, charitatis manus largiflua, tuorum munimen corrobores, tela diligenter acuas, fontemque suum fortius emanare, suæque charitatis vallum protensius atque capacius efficias.

In the Bodleian library* there is a manuscript entitled *Translatio Chronicæ Saracenorum*, by Robert de Retines, with a dedicatory epistle to Peter abbot of Cluny. It is the same work which is printed anonymously in the collection of Bibliander (p. 213) from an imperfect manuscript, without the preface, under the title *Incipit Chronica Saracenorum*.

Jourdan, in his Researches on the Latin Translations of Aristotle,† states his opinion that Robert de Retines was the same person as the Robertus Castrensis to whom Manget‡ attributes the Latin version of Morien *De Compositione*

* MS. Seld. Sup. 31.
† Recherches Critiques, p. 104.
‡ Bibl. Chym. Car. 1, p. 519.

Alchimiæ, said to have been made in 1182. But it is hardly probable that Robert de Retines should have been so young in 1143 as to be still an active writer forty years afterwards.

Tanner attributes to Robert de Retines a tract contained in several manuscripts at Oxford, entitled *Judicia Jacobi Alkindi Astrologi ex translatione Roberti Anglici*, to which he affixes the date 1272. This date is certainly incorrect if it be the work of Robert de Retines, which appears not improbable from the circumstance that a copy of the same tract occurs in a manuscript of the beginning of the fourteenth (or perhaps of the thirteenth) century in the British Museum* with the title, *Incipiunt Judicia Alkindi Astrologi, Rodberti de Ketene translatio.* Its subject is purely astrological, the object being to reduce to a system which admits of calculation the supposed influences of the planets on the elements, on mankind, and on private actions and political events.

Editions.

Machumetis Sarracenorum principis vita ac doctrina omnis, quæ et Ismahelitarum lex, et Alcoranum dicitur, ex Arabica lingua ante CCCC annos in Latinam Translata.... Item Philippi Melancthonis, viri doctiss. præmonitio ad lectorem, &c. fol. The copy in the British Museum has the lower part of the title torn off, but it appears to be the edition printed at Basil, by Brylinger, for J. Oporinus, in 1543.

Fabricius mentions a separate edit. of the Koran, printed at Zurich. 1543. He probably refers to a tract entitled, Alcorani Epitome, Roberto Ketenense interprete, published with Mahometis Abdallæ filii Theologia, dialogo explicata, Hermanno Nellingaunense interprete, in that year.

Machumetis ejusque successorum vitæ, doctrina, ac ipse Alcoran, quæ D. Petrus, abbas Clun. ex Arabica lingua in Lat. transferri curavit, cum Phil. Melanchtonis præmonitione, &c. [Tiguri,] 1550. fol.

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* MS. Cotton, Appendix VI. fol. 109, r°. Robert may be the translator of some of the other tracts of Alkindi, two of which were printed under the title, — Astrorū Indices {Alkind^{o} / Gaphar} de pluviis imbribus et vētis : ac aeris mutatiōe. Venetiis Anno Dn̄i 1507. Ex officina Petri Liechtenstein. 4to. black letter.

TUROLD.

The earliest known romance in the Anglo-Norman language is the *Chanson de Roland* of the trouvère Turold. The conjectures of the abbé de la Rue concerning the family and date of this writer are so extremely vague and unsupported by evidence, that they do not deserve to be repeated. The only information relating to Turold which can be gleaned from his poem is his name, which occurs in the concluding line;* and the name Thorold, Torold, Turold, was so common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that it would be vain, with no further evidence, to attempt to trace his family connections. There can be little doubt that he flourished in England; the manuscript from which his poem has been printed appears to be as old as the latter half of the twelfth century, and the language induces us to believe that he flourished about the time of king Stephen.

The poem of Turold begins somewhat abruptly, and describes the same disastrous battle of Roncevaux which had already been made popular in the Latin story published under the name of bishop Turpin, and which has been so often celebrated in the poetry of subsequent ages. Although the language is nearly the same as that of Philip de Thaun, its style differs entirely from that of any Anglo-Norman poem which we can safely attribute to a remoter date. Instead of the rhyming treatise on science, or the scarcely less prosaic narratives of miracles of saints, we recognise here a poem which was undoubtedly intended to be recited with the accompaniment of the minstrel's harp;

* Ci falt la geste que Turoldus declinet.
Chanson de Roland, p. 155.

and, although devoid of the artificial ornaments of more refined poetry, the story marches on with a kind of lofty grandeur which was well calculated to move the hearts of the hearers for whom it was intended, and which even to a modern reader is not without its charms. The primitive form of the language has also a certain degree of dignity which was lost in its subsequent transformations. The form of the verse has some peculiarities; it is one of the oldest poems, in which, instead of rhyming couplets, we have a continuous series of lines, varying in number, bound together by one final rhyme, and this rhyme rests upon the last or last two vowels, entirely independent of the consonants. This kind of assonance, rather than rhyme, is I believe found in no other work of the trouvères, although it occurs in the dialects of the south (Spanish and Provençal) and even in Latin poems of the tenth and eleventh centuries.* The following passage of the poem, taken almost at random, will best illustrate these observations: it describes the occupations of the court of Charlemagne on the arrival of the Moorish ambassador.

Li empereres se fait e balz e liez,
Cordres a prise e les murs peceiez,
Od ses cadables les turs en abatied,
Mult grant eschech en unt si chevaler
D'or e d'argent e de guarnemenz chers.
En la citet n'en ad remés paien
Ne seit ocis u devient chrestien.
Li empereres est en un grant verger,
Ensembl' od lui Rollans e Oliver,
Sansun li dux, e Anseis li fiers,
Gefreid d'Anjou le rei gunfanuner;
E si i furent e Gerin e Gerers.

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* For an example of this assonant rhyme in Latin, closely resembling that of Turold, see the poem on St. Nicholas, printed in the Reliquiæ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 199.

Là ù cist furent, des altres i out bien ;
De dulce France i ad quinze milliers.
Sur palies blancs siedent cil cevalers,
As tables juent pur els esbaneier,
E as eschces li plus saive e li veill,
E escremissent cil bacheler leger.
Desuz un pin, delez un eglenter,
Un faldestoed i unt fait tut d'or mer:
Lå siet li reis qui dulce France tient,
Blanche ad la barbe e tut flurit le chef,
Gent ad le cors e la cuntenance fier.
S'est ki l' demandet, ne l'estoet enseigner ;
E li message descendirent à pied,
Si l' saluerent par amur e par bien.

As in most of the early romances, the largest portion of the poem of Turold consists of battle scenes, descriptions most suitable to the taste of a warlike age, which are told with somewhat of Homeric vigour. In relating the disasters of the war, the poet introduces pathetic traits which sometimes possess considerable beauty. The following incident forms part of the narrative of the death of the hero Roland.

Halt sunt li pui e mult halt les arbres,
Quatre perruns i ad luisant de marbre.
Sur l'erbe verte li quens Rollans se pasmet ;
Uns Sarrazins tute veie l'esguardet,
Si se feinst mort, si gist entre les altres,
Del sanc luat sun cors e sun visage,
Met sei en piez e de curre s'astet;
Bels fut e forz e de grant vasselage :
Par sun orgoill cumencet mortel rage,
Rollant saisit e sun cors e ses armes,
E dist un mot: "Vencut est li niés Carles.
Iceste espée porterai en Arabe."
En cel tireres li quens s'aperçut alques.
Co sent Rollans que s'espée li tolt,
Uverit les oilz, si li ad dit un mot:
"Men escientre ! tu n'ies mie des noz."
Tient l'olifan, que unques perdre ne volt,
Si l'fiert en l'elme ki gemmet fut à or,
Fruisset l'acer e la teste e les os,
Amsdous les oilz del chef li ad mis fors,

Jus à ses piez si l' ad tresturnet mort,
Après li dit: " Culvert paien, cum fus unkes si os
Que me saisis ne à dreit ne à tort?
Ne l' orrat hume ne t'en tienget pur fol.
Fenduz en est mis olifans el gros,
Ca juz en est li cristals e li ors."

The only manuscript of Turold's poem, in its original form, known to exist at the period when it was printed by M. Michel, is preserved in the Bodleian Library. Copies of the same text, modernized and containing many variations, but without the name of Turold, are found in manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.*

Edition.

La Chanson de Roland, ou de Roncevaux, du xiie siècle, publiée pour la première fois, d'après le Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Bodléienne à Oxford, par Francisque Michel. 8vo. Paris, 1837.

EVERARD AND HELYS OF WINCHESTER.

THE account which the abbé de la Rue gives of the trouvère Everard is extremely incorrect. All that we know of this poet is that he wrote a metrical translation into Anglo-Norman of the *Disticha* of Dionysius Cato, the popular book of morality in the Middle Ages, and that he was a monk. In one of the manuscripts of this trans-

* Several such MSS. are described in M. Michel's Introduction to his edition of the poem of Turold, and in prof. Keller's recent publication, Romvart: Beitræge zur mittelalterlicher Dichtung aus Italiænischen Bibliotheken. 8vo. Mannheim, 1844, pp. 12, 28. See also on the subject of this poem, M. Monin's Dissertation sur le Roman de Roncevaux. The earliest of the foreign manuscripts (dating from the commencement of the thirteenth century) is preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, fonds de Colbert, No. 7227[5]., and, as I am informed by M. Paulin Paris, resembles closely the text of the Oxford MS., except that it is much more correctly written and more complete.

lation its author is called Avrard. Tanner, on the authority of Dempster (who is not generally deserving of much credit) mentions a Scottish monk of the name of Everardus, canon of Kirkham in Yorkshire (founded in 1121), and subsequently first abbot of Holme Cultram in Cumberland (founded in 1150), to whom he attributes Lives (in Latin) of St. Adamnanus, St. Cumeneus Albus, and St. Walthenus. M. de la Rue, without any reason, identifies these two Everards; and, which is much less excusable, states that Everard in his translation of Cato tells us that he was canon of Kirkham, although all that the writer says of himself is that he was a monk. There is every reason for believing that Everard of Kirkham, of whose writings (if they ever existed) nothing remains, was a different person from the Everard of whom we are now speaking. At the same time the language he uses, and the age of the manuscripts, induce us to believe that they may have been contemporary, and that the translator of Cato lived perhaps not later than the reign of Stephen.

The translation of Everard appears to have enjoyed some popularity; and it was subsequently retouched or altered by other persons, and made the foundation of other works. This practise of pirating literary property was not uncommon in the Middle Ages. In a manuscript in the British Museum,* we have an Anglo-Norman metrical version of the *Disticha* of Cato, written by Helys (or Helias) of Winchester, who also, by the title of *dans (dominus)* which he gives himself, must have been an ecclesiastic or a monk.† Helys translates the first book of

* MS. Harl. No. 4388. There is another copy in MS. Col. Corp. Chr. Cambridge, No. 405. M. de la Rue places Helys of Winchester very erroneously in the thirteenth century.

† In the prologue, MS. Harl. No. 4388, fol. 115, v°:—

Ki volt saveir la faitement
Ke Katun à sun fiz prent,

Cato in the same measure as that adopted by Everard, whom he frequently copies with slight variations through several lines, whilst at other times he changes his original entirely, but in such a manner that we easily see that he had the version of Everard before his eyes. Many of the variations are mere differences in the readings of manuscripts. In the second book Helys gives a translation differing both in words and measure from that of his prototype, to which however he returns again in the third and fourth books. The respective translations of the first six lines of the first book will serve as a specimen of the manner in which Helys has changed the version of Everard when he differs most from it.

Translation of Everard.	*Translation of Helys of Winchester.*

Si Deus est animus, nobis ut carmina dicunt,
Hic tibi præcipue sit pura mente colendus.

Si Deus à cutiver	De purpense pure,
Est tel purpenser,	Cum dit l'escripture,
cum dient chescun,	Deu devum cultiver,
Là seit ton curage	Lui deis-tu meimement
Ferm en sun estage,	Acuragiement
sanz nul flichisun.	servir et honurer.

Plus vigila semper, nec somno deditus esto;
Nam diuturna quies vitiis alimenta ministrat.

Tut tens garde vus	Purvei tuteveis
Ke vus esveillez plus	Ke tu trop ne seies
ke ne prengez summe;	al dormir desirus;
Kar par grant dormir	Repos et trop dormir
Sout suvent chair	Fait home devenir
en vices meint hume.	malveis e perecus.

S'en Latin ne l' set entendre,
Ci le pot en Romanz aprendre,
Cum Helis de Guincestre,
Ki Dés mettet à sa destré.
La translatat si faitement, etc.

And in the concluding lines of the poem :—

Ki 's translata l' entent tut altresi,
Danz Helys, dunt Jesus ait merci!

Virtutem primam esse puta compescere linguam ;
Proximus ille Deo est qui scit ratione tacere.

Translation of Everard.	*Translation of Helys of Winchester.*
La vertu premere	La premere vertu
Ki à tei seit chere,	Est, bien le saches-tu,
est lange refrener ;	ta lange refrener ;
A Deu est prochein,	Deu pot à gré servir,
Ki par resun certein	Ki set e volt taisir,
set taisir e parler.	é par reisun parler.

In the following passages, taken a little further on in the first book, the two versions become more closely identical :—

Constans et lenis, sic ut res expostulat, esto :
Temporibus mores sapiens sine crimine mutat.

Red e suef seez,	Paisibles et suef iras
Selung ço ke tu veies	Sulunc ço ke verras
ke les choses i vont ;	que les choses s'en vunt ;
Li sages, sanz blesmer	Li sages senz blasmer
Ses murs set atempter	Ses murs set atempter
selunc que choses sunt.	sulunc les tens que sunt.

Nil temere uxori de servis crede querenti ;
Sæpe etenim mulier quem conjux diligit odit.

Ne creies folement	Ta fæmme * folement
Ta femme quant suvent	Ne creire, de ta gent
de tes serjanz se claime ;	si ele se claimet ;
Kar suvent eschet	Kar suvent avient
Que la dame het	Ke femme en haur tient
ceus ke li sires aime.	ke si sires aime.

Cum moneas aliquem, nec se velit ille moneri,
Si tibi sit carus, noli desistere cœptis.

Si de ses folies	Si de ses folies
Acun de tons chasties,	Alkun chasties,
e il ne l' voillie entendre,	ki ne l' voile entendre,

* I consider the occurrence of the *æ* diphthong in this manuscript, and in those of Philip de Thaun, Guernes du Pont de St. Maxence, and one or two others, a proof of their being written in the twelfth century ; I account for them by supposing the MSS. to have been written by scribes who were in the custom of writing Latin, and who, when writing *que*, *femme*, &c. wrote as though it were the Latin *quæ*, *fæmina*, &c. And even in Latin MSS. the *æ* went out of use towards the end of the twelfth century :—I never met with a MS. containing it which could be attributed by any stretch of probability to a later date than the reign of John, excepting, of course, manuscripts written after the fifteenth century.

Translation of Everard.
Ne deis pur ço cesser,
Purquei que l'aies cher,
meus de tant plus reprendre.

Translation of Helys of Winchester.
Par tant ne l' deis leisser,
Si tu l' as alches cher,
mais dire en reprendre.

* * * * * * * *

Exiguum munus cum dat tibi pauper amicus,
Accipito placide, plene et laudare memento.

Quant un petit dun
Te met à baundun
le ton povre ami,
Receif le bonement,
E plenerement
t'en lo par tut de li.

S'avient k'un petit dun
Te mette à bandon
li ton povres amis,
Receif le bonement,
E loènges l'en rend,
e granz grez et mercis.

Infantem nudum cum te natura crearit,
Paupertatis onus patienter ferre memento.

Quant el mund venis,
Povres e chaitifs
e nu et dolent,
La charge de poverte,
De meseise e de perte,
sofre bonement.

Ne t'esmaie pur perte,
Sufre ta poverte,
et par bon voleir,
Si te deit suvenir
Ke Dés te fist venir
el mund senz aveir.

The opening lines of the second book will serve to show the style of Helys of Winchester when he writes independently of his predecessor:—

Telluris si forte velis cognoscere cultus,
Virgilium legito. Quod si mage nosse laboras
Herbarum vires, Macer has tibi carmine dicet.
Si Romana cupis vel Punica noscere bella,
Lucanum quæras, qui Martis prælia dicet.
Si quid amare libet vel discere amare legendo,
Nasonem petito.

Si tu vous saver
Terre cultiver,
ke blé ne falie mie,
Virgilie lisez,
E saver purrez
asez de guainerie.
Si vous fisicien
estre, e saver ben
duner les mescines,
Macre, ke ne ment,
Les granz vertuz t'aprent
d' erbes e de racines.

Talent de terre gainier
pur quei tu aies fiz,
Virgiles t'en set adrescer,
si tu liz ses escriz.
E tu herbe vols saveir
la force et la vertu,
Danz Macres t'en dirrat
le veir, quant l'auras purveu
Si de Romains u Alfricans
bataille vols saveir,
Bien les te dirrat danz Lucans,
si tu liz à leisir.

Translation of Everard.

Si vous ke tu ne failles
De saver les batailles
d'Aufrike e de Rume,
Lucan aprenez,
Kar iloc truverez
de guerre meinte sume.
Si vous saver d'amurs,
Cum volent li plusurs,
lise les Ovides,
E tost saveras amer,
E pus desamer,
meuz ke tu ne quides.

Translation of Helys of Winchester.

E cil ki volt saveir d'amur,
e aprendre à amer,
Ovide l'amerus autur
li estuverat recorder.

There can be no doubt that Everard was the original writer, and that Helys was the copyist, because Everard's translation is uniformly written, whereas the prologue and translation of the second book of the other are altogether in a different style from the rest.

In the British Museum there is another Anglo-Norman version of Cato, in a manuscript of the earlier part of the fourteenth century,* which also is written in the same measure as that of Everard; and I am inclined to think that the author took Everard for his model, but he has disguised what he has borrowed much more effectually than Helys of Winchester.

The best copy of the poem of Everard is found in a manuscript in the British Musuem (MS. Arundel, No. 292, which, when examined by M. de la Rue, was in the library of the Royal Society). An inferior copy is preserved in a manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris (fonds Notre Dame, No. 277), from which it has been printed by M. Le Roux de Lincy. The manuscript cited by M. de la Rue as fonds Notre Dame No. 5, is the same as the one just mentioned, but his reference is incorrect.

M. de la Rue attributes to Everard, I think incorrectly,

* MS. Harl. No. 4657.

a smaller poem in the Arundel manuscript, (a short metrical discourse on the Passion,) merely because it is contained in the same volume, and is written in the same kind of verse as the translation of Cato. We meet not unfrequently with similar poems, which might be attributed to the same writer with as much justice, for, although contained in one manuscript, the two poems are separated by a number of small pieces in different languages and by different authors. A similar poem has been published by M. Jubinal;* and another will be found in the manuscript in the Harleian Library,† which has already been cited as containing a translation of Cato in the same structure of verse as that of Everard, which it immediately precedes.

Edition.

Le Livre des Proverbes Français, par Le Roux de Lincy. 12mo. Paris, 1842. Tome Second, pp. 359—375. Everard's Translation of the Distichs of Cato.

SAMSON DE NANTEUIL.

Samson de Nanteuil is another of the Anglo-Norman trouvères whom we know only by his writings. It is probable, from the character of his work, that he was an ecclesiastic. We are enabled to fix the date at which Samson flourished, for he informs us that he was attached to the household, or court, of Adelaide de Condé, at whose

* Un Sermon en vers, publié pour la première fois, par Achille Jubinal, d'après le Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque du Roi. 8vo. Paris, 1834.

† MS. Harl. No. 4657.

request he composed the only work which bears his name, a metrical Anglo-Norman translation of, and gloss upon, the Proverbs of Solomon.* This lady was the wife of Osbert de Condé, lord of Horncastle, in Lincolnshire, and lived during the reigns of Henry I. and Stephen. Horncastle was one of the numerous castles which were destroyed in the beginning of the reign of Henry II. In 1148, Adelaide de Condé, with her son Roger de Condé, gave several donations to the priory of Rufford.† Samson de Nanteuil may therefore be considered as belonging to the reign of Stephen.

Only one manuscript of the translation of the Proverbs by this trouvère is known to exist,‡ and it has never been printed. It possesses very little interest, and hardly deserves to be dragged from its obscurity. The translator takes the Latin text phrase by phrase, giving first a nearly literal translation, and then a gloss. The following lines will serve as an example (taken from the MS. fol. 5, r°.)

* Ki ben en volt estere enqueranz,
Entendet dunc à cest Romanz,
Que al loenge Dame-Dé
E à s'enor at translaté
Sanson de Nantuil, ki sovient
De *sa* dame qu'il aime et creient,
Ki mainte feiz l'en out preid,
Que li desclairast cel traited.
Le num de ceste damme escrist
Cil ki translation fist,
Aeliz de Cundé l'apele
Noble damme enseigne é bele.
Ne quident pas li losengier
Qu'ot eus se voille acompaigner,
Kar trestut cil de sa contrée
Unt ben oi sa renumée. fol. 2, r°.

† This is stated by M. de la Rue, without giving his authority.

‡ MS. Harl. No. 4388, of the twelfth century.

Fili mi, si te lactaverint peccatores, ne adquiescas eis.
litera.

Enprès li dit, fiz, n'assentir
As pecchanz, s'il te vunt blandir,
N'aies suen de lor alaiter,
Kar anuire ne tat mester.

glose.

Conjecture fait cil qui l'creie,
Que pere et mere li chasteie,
Pur çeo que li ruevet quenchir
Tot l'alaiter et le blandir
Des pecheors, ki losengier
Le volent de mal comencer.
Alaiter par tent à enfant,
Ki d'user pain est non poant.
Li pecheur celui alaitent,
Que par vantance à mal rehaitent.
De plus te met en sorquidance,
Que ne pot aveir defeisance;
Par vantances l'en velt torner
A perdre ço que deit garder.
Après li tient male huere enprendre,
Com enfant ki ne seit entendre
De faire ço que l'um li dit,
Ne ne set s'est perte u profit.
De tel alaiter de pechied
Fait li pere al fiz sum deivet,
Si n'avuns cel respit en main,
Que l'um suelt dire del vilain,
Ki ne creit sum pere et sa mere,
Novele creit male et amare.

GUISCARD OR GUICHARD DE BEAULIEU.

This writer has been hitherto known only by a poem of some length which in the manuscript is entitled the Sermon of Guiscard de Beaulieu.* He tells us that he had passed his youth in secular enjoyments, until, dis-

* Ici fine le sermun Guischart de Beauliu. MS. Harl. No. 4388, fol. 99, v°.

gusted with the vanities of the world, he had retired to a monastery; and his "sermon" is a long satire against the vices of the age.

A contemporary (or nearly contemporary) writer has however preserved an interesting account of Guiscard de Beaulieu, not hitherto noticed. Walter Mapes informs us that Guiscard was a man of wealth, distinguished for his valour; that in his old age he had surrendered his estates to his son Imbert, and not only assumed the habit of a monk of the order of Cluny, but became a poet in his own language, the French or Anglo-Norman, and was distinguished as "the Homer of the laity." * Subsequently, when his son, by the violence of his enemies and his own want of courage, had been expelled from his paternal possessions, Guiscard returned for a time to the world, assumed his arms, reinstated him, and then retired again to the cloister, where he remained till his death.† From the manner in which he is here spoken of, we ought probably to consider Guiscard as living in the reign of Stephen, and dying early in that of Henry II.

The abbé de la Rue supposed that our trouvère took his name from the circumstance of his being a monk in the priory of Beaulieu in Bedfordshire, founded early in the twelfth century as a dependent on the great abbey of St. Alban's. This was not, however, a house of Cluniac monks: and from the account just cited from Walter Mapes I am inclined to think that he must have belonged to some other abbey, and that Beaulieu was the family

* Collectis viribus se subito poetam persensit, suo quomodo, lingua sc. Gallica prætonsus effulgens, laicorum Homerus fuit. By *laicorum Homerus*, I presume that Mapes means he became by the language of his writings the poet of the laity, who could not understand those who wrote in Latin.

† Walter Mapes, De Nugis Curialium, Distinct. i. cap. 13.

name. The words of the writer just mentioned would lead us to believe that Guischard had written more than one poem. The Sermon is, however, all that is now known of his compositions. It is preserved in a manuscript of the twelfth century in the British Museum,* and (in a mutilated form) in a manuscript of the Royal Library at Paris,† from which last copy an edition was published by M. Jubinal.

The Sermon of Guiscard de Beaulieu is written in the same kind of versification which characterises most of the earlier metrical romances, and of which we have had an example in the Chanson de Roland, the assonance of Turold being however exchanged for more perfect rhymes. The style bears marks of much greater poetical talent than is observed in the poems of Everard and Samson de Nanteuil, and frequently exhibits considerable elegance and energy of expression. We select the following lines,‡ both as a fair specimen of the whole, and as preserving a curious trait of the religious belief of the age.

> Chascons heom covient ke bien se seit purveuz ;
> Kar il i ad dous complaingnz ki mult sunt fiers et durs :
> L'un est l'angle des ciels, et l'altre des perduz.
> Dirrai vus de chascon cum deit estre cremuz ;
> E li bons escriz noz biens et tuz noz vertuz,
> Et li mals noz pechez les granz et lez menuz.
> Entre eus nen ad jà pais, tut tens sunt irascuz :
> L'un volt nostre damage, bien en seez seurz,
> Et l'autre est curius coment il fust vencuz,
> Co est par bons ovres deit estre confundez.
> A celu vus tenez dunt serrez meintenuz,
> Devant Deu vus merrat, ù serrez bien venuz.
> Quant li bons est sauls et l'altre est mal peuz,
> Quant il est vestuz, li colverz est tut muz.

* MS. Harl. No. 4388.

† Bibliothèque Royale, No. 1856 (indicated by M. de la Rue as No. 2560).

‡ MS. Harl. No. 4388, fol. 94, r°.

L'un volt bons vestimenz, garnemenz aguz,
Destrers bien enseelez, et palefrai tunduz,
Escuz peint à or, espées esmuluz,
E manteals trainanz de grant pailes tenduz :
Dunc serrat par ces tuz amez et conuz,
Ki sivre le voldrat, celui serrat ses druz ;
Jà certes ki l'crerrat devant Deu n'ert veuz,
De cels dit escripture à ben prof sunt perduz.
Bon conseil en dirrai, se jo en ere creuz,
Trestut duner à povres, à meseals, et à muz,
Et faire punz sur ewes, dunt fust meintenuz
Eglises et musters ù Dés fust coneuz.
Ki ren dune pur Deu, mult par i ad ben venduz ;
Quant mester aurat, trestut li ert renduz.
Cil ki ben fait pur s'alme, à sei sul rend saluz.

Edition.

Le Sermon de Guichard de Beaulieu, publié pour la première fois d'après le Manuscrit unique de la Bibliothèque du Roi. 8vo. lettres Gothiques. Paris, 1834. [Edited by M. Achille Jubinal.]

WILLIAM OF MALMSBURY.

William of Malmsbury deserves to be considered as one of the most remarkable writers of the twelfth century; yet we know little of his personal history, and that little we have to deduce from the allusions in his own writings. He tells us that, his father having destined him for the church, he spent all his youth in close application to books, and made himself well acquainted with the principal branches of learning, but that history was his favourite study. He began by obtaining with his own money the principal writers of foreign history, and then, turning to the annals of his own country, and finding them imperfectly handed down by other writers, he was led to collect the materials for a new work, in which some of the

defects of his predecessors were to be supplied.* He was librarian and precentor of his monastery,† and would have been elected abbot, if he had not resigned his claims in favour of his competitor, abbot John,‡ who was elected in 1140, and died the same year.

This is the only incident in William's life of which we possess the exact date. In the prologue to the fourth book of his History of the English Kings, he speaks of William Rufus and Henry I. as kings *of his own time*,§ to distinguish them from William the Conqueror, and says that thenceforth he shall have to speak of what came within his own knowledge. He must therefore have lived in the time of the second William, and we may place his birth in the latter part of the eleventh century. In another of his works, the Commentary on Jeremiah, probably written soon after Henry's death, he says that he had seen an ostrich in England in the time of king Henry.‖ He states that when he wrote the work just alluded to he was forty years old, and that he had written on history when younger.¶ This is no doubt an allusion to his

* Prologus, lib. ii. Hist. Reg. Angl. In the prologue to lib. iii. he tells us that one of his parents was Norman, the other English, utriusque gentis sanguinem traho.

† He gives himself the first of these titles in the introduction to his Historiæ Novellæ.

‡ So Leland informs us, on the authority of his Itinerary of Abbot John, now lost.

§ Nostri temporis regum.

‖ Qualem in Anglia vidimus tempore regis Henrici extraneorum monstrorum appetentissimi. Expos. Thren. Hierem. MS. Bodl. No. 868, quoted by Sharpe.

¶ Olim cum historiis lusi, viridioribus annis rerumque lætitiæ congruebat rerum jocunditas; nunc ætas progressior et fortuna deterior aliud dicendi genus expostulant. Quadragenarius sum hodie. Præf. in Expos. Thren. Hierem. This was probably written in the midst of some family griefs: from the manner in which he speaks of his being forced to be a scholar, I think it probable that William was a younger son of a rich and at least knightly family, and that it was his father who was a Norman, and his mother a Saxon.

five books of the History of the English Kings, of which the first three were published separately, and followed by the other two; and these last, as appears evidently by the manner in which the author addresses Robert earl of Gloucester at the end, were published during the life of Henry I.* He wrote the life of Wulstan before 1140, for it is addressed to Guarin prior of Worcester, who died in that year. It is probable that William's next work, after the Commentary on Jeremiah, was the *Gesta Pontificum,* or History of the English Bishops. In the prologue to this work he speaks of his history of the English kings as having been written formerly; † but his reluctance to speak of his contemporaries deprives us of the means of fixing its exact date. As, however, he speaks of the death of Thurstan archbishop of York, which occurred on the 5th of February 1140, and mentions Robert de Betun bishop of Hereford as still alive, the book must have been written between 1140 and 1148, in which latter year Robert de Betun died. He says in this work that he was then occupied in writing the lives of some of the native saints, ‡ alluding probably to the lives of Dunstan, Patrick, Indract, and others. The *Historiæ Novellæ,* or modern histories, dedicated to Robert earl of Gloucester, must have been written between 1142, at the end of which year they conclude, and 1147, when the earl died. We cannot doubt that William of Malmsbury was alive in this latter year, because Geoffrey of Monmouth, who, as is shown in the

* De militiæ porro vestræ industria quis hæsitat, cum eam excellentissimus *pater in vobis suspiciat?* Cum enim aliqui motus in Normannia *nunciantur, vos præmittit,* et virtute vestra profligentur suspecta, sagacitate redintegretur concordia: *cum redit in regnum, vos reducit, ut sitis ei foris tutelæ, domi lætitiæ, ornamento ubique.*

† Nec puto a ratione dividere, ut qui quondam regum Anglorum gesta perstrinxi, nunc Anglorum pontificum nomina transcurram.

‡ In indigenarum sanctorum miraculis manus occupatas habeo.

article dedicated to him, wrote in that year, speaks of him and of Henry of Huntingdon as being then still occupied in writing on English history.* His latest work with which we are acquainted was, probably, the History of Glastonbury, in which he speaks of having *formerly* written the life of Dunstan in two books, the life of St. Patrick, the Miracles of Benignus, and the Martyrdom of Indractus. He speaks of the election of Henry of Blois to the abbacy of Glastonbury (in 1126) and to the bishopric of Winchester *not long after* † (in 1129) in a manner which would lead us to believe that it was written some years after the latter event; and he addresses the book to Henry bishop of Lincoln, who, if the name be not a mistake of the scribes (for no Henry bishop of Lincoln is mentioned in this century), must have been a successor of Robert de Chesney, who died in 1147. We have no means whatever of fixing the date of William's death.

William of Malmsbury was the first English writer after the time of Bede who attempted successfully to raise history above the dry and undigested details of a chronicle. He boasts, and not without reason, of his industry in collecting materials. ‡ We cannot discover that he used any written authorities for the earlier portion of his history except such as are well known; but he lived

* Reges vero Saxonum Guillelmo Malmesberiensi et Henrico Hontendonensi (permitto): quos de regibus Britonum tacere jubeo, cum non habeant illum librum Britannici sermonis, quem Gualterus Oxenefordensis Archidiaconus ex Britannia advexit, quem de historia eorum veracitas aditum in honore prædictorum principum hoc modo in Latinam sermonem transferre curavi. Galfr. Monumet. Hist. Britonum, in epilog.

† Qui etiam Episcopus Wintoniensis non multo post factus est. W. Malmsb. de Antiq. Glaston. Sub fine.

‡ Cæterum in utramvis partem præsentium non magnipendo judicium, habiturus ut spero apud posteros, post decessum amoris et livoris, si non eloquentiæ titulum, saltem industriæ testimonium. Prolog. in lib. i. De Gest. Reg. Angl.

at a period when a vast number of valuable traditions and legends of the Saxon times still existed, and he fortunately had the taste to collect many of them and preserve them in his work. On this account, next to the Saxon Chronicle, he is the most valuable authority for Anglo-Saxon history. In his annals of the Norman period, and of his own time, he is judicious, and, as far as could be expected, unprejudiced: and his constant reluctance to treat of the period at which he was writing shows his desire to be unbiassed and impartial. He was evidently a good scholar, and had read much. His Latin is not incorrect, and his style is much more pleasing than that of any previous writer of English history. This circumstance contributed much towards procuring for his book the great popularity which it afterwards enjoyed. It is difficult to give any sufficient idea of the style of a writer like William of Malmsbury in a small compass: but we quote his reflections on the battle of Hastings as the best specimen that can be given:—

Illa fuit dies fatalis Anglis, funestum excidium dulcis patriæ, pro novorum dominorum commutatione. Jam enim pridem moribus Anglorum insueverat, qui varii admodum pro temporibus fuere. Nam primis adventus sui annis vultu et gestu barbarico, usu bellico, ritu fanatico vivebant; sed postmodum Christi fide suscepta, paulatim et per incrementa temporis, pro otio quod actitabant exercitium armorum in secundis ponentes, omnem in religione operam insumpsere. Taceo de pauperibus, quos fortunarum tenuitas plerumque continet ne cancellos justitiæ transgrediantur: prætermitto graduum ecclesiasticorum viros, quos nonnunquam professionis contuitus, sed et infamiæ metus a vero deviare non sinit. De regibus dico, qui pro amplitudine suæ potestatis licenter indulgere voluptatibus possent; quorum quidam in patria, quidam Romæ, mutato habitu cæleste lucrati sunt regnum, beatum nacti commercium, multi specie tenus tota vita mundum amplexi, ut thesauros egenis effunderent, monasteriis dividerent. Quid dicam de tot episcopis, heremitis, abbatibus? Nonne tota insula indigenarum tantis reliquiis fulgurat, ut vix aliquem vicum insignem prætereas, ubi novi sancti nomen non audias. Quam multorum etiam periit memoria, pro scriptorum inopia! Verumtamen literarum et religionis studia ætate procedente obsoleverunt, non paucis ante adventum Normannorum annis. Clerici literatura tumultuaria contenti, vix sacramentorum verba balbutiebant: stu-

pori et miraculo erat cæteris qui grammaticam nosset. Monachi subtilibus indumentis et indifferenti genere ciborum regulam ludificabant. Optimates gulæ et veneri dediti, ecclesiam more Christiano mane non adibant: sed in cubiculo et inter uxorios amplexus matutinarum solemnia et missarum a festinante presbytero auribus tantum libabant. Vulgus in medio expositum præda erat potentioribus, ut vel eorum substantiis exhaustis, vel etiam corporibus in longinquas terras distractis, acervos thesaurorum congererent, quanquam magis ingenitum sit illi genti commessationibus quam operibus inhiare. Illud erat a natura abhorrens, quod multi ancillas suas ex se gravidas, ubi libidini satisfecissent, aut ad publicum prostibulum aut ad æternum obsequium vendicabant. Potabatur in commune ab omnibus, in hoc studio noctes perinde ut dies perpetuantibus, parvis et abjectis domibus totos sumptus absumebant; Francis et Normannis absimiles, qui amplis et superbis ædificiis modicas expensas agunt. Sequebantur vitia ebrietatis socia, quæ virorum animos effœminant. Hinc factum est, ut magis temeritate et furore præcipiti quam scientia militari Willielmo congressi, uno prælio et ipso perfacili, servituti se patriamque pessumdederint. Nihil enim temeritate levius, sed quicquid cum impetu inchoat, cito desinit vel compescitur. Ad summam, tunc erant Angli vestibus ad medium genu expediti, crines tonsi, barbas rasi, armillis aureis brachia onerati, picturatis stigmatibus cutem insigniti; in cibis urgentes crapulam, in potibus irritantes vomicam. Et hæc quidem extrema victoribus suis participarunt, de cæteris in eorum mores transeuntes. Sed hæc mala de omnibus generaliter Anglis dicta intelligi nolim. Scio clericos multos tunc temporis simplici vita semitam sanctitatis trivisse: scio multos laicos omnis generis et conditionis in hæc eadem gente Deo placuisse: facessat ab hac relatione invidia; non cunctos pariter hæc involvit calumnia. Verum sicut in tranquillitate malos cum bonis fovet plerumque Dei serenitas, ita in captivitate bonos cum malis nonnunquam ejusdem constringit severitas. Porro Normanni (ut de eis quoque dicam) erant tunc et sunt adhuc vestibus ad invidiam culti, cibis citra ullam nimietatem delicati: gens militiæ assueta, et sine bello pene vivere nescia, in hostem impigre procurrere; et ubi vires non successissent, non minus dolo et pecunia corrumpere. Domi ingentia ædificia (ut dixi) moderatos sumptus moliri, paribus invidere, superiores prætergredi velle, subjectos ipsi vellicantes ab alienis tutari: dominis fideles, moxque levi offensa infideles. Cum fato ponderare perfidiam, cum nummo mutare sententiam. Cæterum omnium gentium benignissimi advenas æquali secum honore colunt; matrimonia quoque cum subditis jungunt. Religionis normam in Anglia usquequaque emortuam adventu suo suscitarunt. Videas ubique in villis ecclesias, in vicis et urbibus monasteria novo ædificandi genere consurgere: recenti ritu patriam florere, ita ut sibi perisse diem quique opulentus existimet, quam non aliqua præclara magnificentia illustrat.

William of Malmsbury was a prolific writer, and most of the works which proceeded from his pen are preserved. They are,

1. The History of the Kings (*Historia Regum Anglorum*), extending from the first entry of the Saxons to the year 1120, in five books, of which there have been several editions. The manuscripts of this work are numerous.

2. The *Historiæ Novellæ*, in two books, including the history of the period from 1126 to 1143. This likewise has been printed more than once.

3. Four books of the histories of the English bishops, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, also printed.

4. The History of Glastonbury, *De Antiquitatibus Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ*, of which there are two editions.

5. The life of Aldhelm, also twice printed, which is generally considered as the fifth book of the History of the English Bishops.

6. The life of Wulstan, printed by Wharton in the Anglia Sacra.

7. The life of Dunstan, preserved in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library (MS. Rawlinson, No. 263).

8. Four books of Commentaries on the book of Lamentations, also preserved in the Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley, No. 868; and formerly in a manuscript in the Cottonian Library, Tiberius A. XII. which perished in the fire.

9. The Miracles of St. Andrew, *De Miraculis S. Andreæ*, preserved in MS. Cotton. Nero, E. I. fol. 51, v°.; and in another volume in the same collection, Tiberius, D. III., now nearly destroyed. It is stated in the prologue to be an abridgement of an older and larger work.

10. An abridgement of the treatise of Amalarius on the offices of the church, *Abbreviatio Amalarii de Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, preserved in a manuscript in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, No. 380.

11. An epitome of the history of Aimon of Fleury,

Epitome Historiæ Aimonis Floriacensis, preserved in the Bodleian Library, MS. Selden, Arch. B. 16.

12. The martyrdom of Indractus, an Irish saint, also preserved in the Bodleian library, MS. Digby, No. 112.

13. A life of St. Patrick, extracts from which are given by Leland,* but the book itself, as well as those which follow, appears to be now lost.

14. The life of St. Benignus, which the author mentions in his history of Glastonbury.

15. A collection of miracles of the Virgin Mary, which was seen by Leland.†

16. An account of the journey of abbot John towards Rome, *Itinerarium Johannis abbatis Meldunensis versus Romam*, of which Leland also saw a copy.‡

17. A Latin poem, in fifteen books, entitled *De Serie Evangelistarum*, of which Leland found a copy in the library of Malmsbury. §

18. Another metrical work on the miracles of St. Alfgiva.

Bale gives the titles of one or two other works pretended to be written by William of Malmsbury, but there is no other authority for them. He is believed to be the writer of the marginal notes to a volume in Baliol college, Oxford, which contains Eutropius, Paulus Diaconus, Jornandes, Aimon (abbreviated), and Orosius. ||

* Collectan. vol. ii. p. 236.

† Collectan. vol. iv. p. 155.

‡ Collectan. vol. iii. p. 272 (ed. 1774).

§ Leland, Collectan. vol. iii. p. 264.

|| See Tanner, Biblioth. p. 360. It appears that in the Lambeth Library, MS. No. 224, there is a manuscript of some of the works of Anselm in William of Malmsbury's hand-writing, with the following lines prefixed:

> Disputat Anselmus præsul Cantorburiensis,
> Scribit Willelmus monachus Malmesberiensis:
> Ambos gratifice complectere, lector amice.

Editions.

Rerum Britannicarum, id est Angliæ, Scotiæ, vicinarumque insularum ac regionum, scriptores vetustiores ac præcipui. By Hieronymus Commelinus. Lugduni, 1587. fol. pp. 281—348. De Gestis Anglorum libri tres, incerto auctore. A mutilated copy of the three first books of William of Malmsbury.

Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipui, ex vetustissimis codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum in lucem editi. Edited by Savile. Lond. 1596. fol.—Francofurti, 1601. fol. pp. 6—174. Willielmi monachi Malmsburiensis de Gestis Regum Anglorum, libri V.—pp. 174—195. Historiæ Novellæ, lib. II.—pp. 195—294. De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum, libri IV.

Determinatio Fr. Joannis Parisiensis Prædicatoris, de Modo Existendi Corpus Christi in Sacramento Altaris. Londini, 1686. 8vo. pp. 82—84. Excerptum ex Abbreviatione Amalarii per Willelmum Malmesburiensem.

Historiae Britannicae, Saxonicae, Anglo-Danicae, Scriptores XV. ex vetustis Codd. MSS. editi Opera Thomae Gale. Oxon. 1691. fol. (The third vol. of Gale's Collection). pp. 291—335, Willielmus Malmesburiensis de Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ.— pp. 337—381, Wilhelmi Malmesburiensis Liber V. de Pontificibus. (The life of Aldhelm, not printed in Savile's edition.)

Anglia Sacra, sive Collectio Historiarum, antiquitus scriptarum, de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ, a prima Fidei Christianæ susceptione ad annum MDXL. Pars secunda. Londini, 1691. fol. pp. 1—49, Liber quintus Wilhelmi Malmesberiensis de Pontificibus Anglorum: seu Vita Aldhelmi Scireburnensis Episcopi.—pp, 239—270, Will. Malmsberiensis de Vita Wlstani.

Adami de Domerham Historia de Rebus Gestis Glastoniensibus.... primus in lucem protulit Tho. Hearnius. Qui et, præter alia.... Guilielmi Malmesburiensis librum de Antiquitate Ecclesiæ Glastoniensis... præmisit. Oxonii, 1727. 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 1—122. William of Malmsbury's History of Glastonbury.

Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi Gesta Regum Anglorum, atque Historia Novella. Ad fidem codicum manuscriptorum recensuit Thomas Duffus Hardy. Londini: 1840. 2 vols. 8vo. Published by the English Historical Society.

Translation.

The History of the Kings of England and the Modern History of William of Malmesbury. Translated from the Latin by the Rev. John Sharpe. London, 1815. 4to.

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH.

One of the most remarkable writers of the twelfth century, both for the popular reputation which he has since continued to enjoy, and the influence he exercised over subsequent historians, was Geoffrey of Monmouth. He appears to have been a native of the town from which he takes his name; probably he was a monk of the Benedictine abbey there, and he was subsequently archdeacon of the church. He was patronised by Robert earl of Gloucester, natural son of king Henry I., and by Alexander bishop of Lincoln, both of them celebrated for their encouragement of learned men. He was the friend of Walter Calenius archdeacon of Oxford,* also a patron of learning, who, after a visit to Britany, had brought home with him some books in the Breton language, containing histories (or rather romances) then current in that country, which he requested Geoffrey of Monmouth to translate.† Geoffrey appears to have enjoyed the reputation of being well acquainted with the Breton language; and before he had proceeded far in his undertaking he was obliged to lay it aside in order to gratify the wish of Alexander bishop of Lincoln to possess a latin version of the prophe-

* Walter Calenius must have been made archdeacon of Oxford when young, and appears to have held that dignity during many years, since, according to the authorities cited by Tanner, we find him described by this title in the 11th Hen. I. (1110 or 1111), in 1138, and in 1147. There appears no reason for placing him in the list of English writers.

† Talia mihi et de talibus multotiens cogitanti, obtulit Walterus Oxenefordensis archidiaconus, vir in oratoria arte atque in exoticis historiis eruditus, quendam Britannici sermonis librum vetustissimum, qui a Bruto primo rege Britonum usque ad Cadvaladrum filium Cadvalonis actus omnium continue et ex ordine perpulcris orationibus proponebat, &c.

cies of Merlin.* When he had completed his other work, which he dedicated to the earl of Gloucester, he inserted in it the prophecies of Merlin, which form the seventh book. The terms in which he speaks of Alexander bishop of Lincoln in the prologue to this seventh book † prove beyond a doubt that that prelate was then dead, so that we are enabled to fix the date of the publication of Geoffrey's history in the autumn of the year 1147, for bishop Alexander died abroad in August, and earl Robert died at the end of October of the same year. It was partly perhaps the reputation of this book which procured its author the bishopric of St. Asaph in the February of 1152, which he enjoyed but a very brief period, for there seems little reason to doubt that Geoffrey died in 1154.‡ Geoffrey's "History" soon became extensively popular, and within no long time after its publication the celebrity which he had given to the legendary king Arthur obtained for him the title of *Galfridus Arturus*.§

It is impossible to consider Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the British Kings in any other light than as a tissue of fables. Its author was either deceived by his materials, or he wished to deceive his readers. It is certain that, if he did not intentionally deceive, we must understand, by *translating* the Breton book, that he meant only

* Nondum autem ad hunc locum historiæ perveneram, cum, de Merlino divulgato rumore, compellebant me undique contemporanei mei prophetias ipsius edere, maxime autem Alexander Lincolniensis episcopus, vir summæ religionis et prudentiæ.

† Non *erat* alter in clero sive in populo cui tot famularentur nobiles, quos ipsius mansueta pietas et benigna largitas in obsequium ejus *alliciebat*.

‡ Henry Wharton, De Episcopis Assavens., p. 305, 306. The Godefridus bishop of St. Asaph, whom Godwin has confounded with Geoffrey, was certainly another person who subsequently held the see.

§ Gaufridus hic dictus est, agnomen habens Arturi; pro eo quod fabulas de Arturo, &c. Guil. Neubrig. Hist. prohem.—Historia Britonum a Galfrido Arthuro tractata. Girald. Cambr. lib. i, c. 5.

working up the materials furnished by it into his history; for some parts of the latter work are mere compilations by himself from the old writers on British affairs then commonly referred to. The question as to the nature of the book which Geoffrey obtained from Walter archdeacon of Oxford is by no means so easy of solution. It is probable that at that time the Bretons, like all nations at a certain period of their history, possessed a mythic genealogy of their princes, commencing with a long list of heroes (or demigods) and continued down to their great fabulous hero Arthur, in the same manner as the Anglo-Saxon mythic genealogy is brought down to Woden, and that Geoffrey of Monmouth mistook this for veracious history, and supposed that it concerned the Britons of our island. If a writer of the twelfth century had treated in the same manner the mythic genealogy of the Anglo-Saxons, with the romantic legends relating to it then in existence, he would have made a work precisely similar to the History of the British Kings. The legends of the British kings appear to have been brought over from Bretagne, and not to have had their origin among the Welsh; for we not only find no traces of them before the Norman conquest, when multitudes of Bretons came in with the invaders, but, although we begin to observe traces of the legends relating to Arthur and Merlin before Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote, yet even the Welsh of that time appear to have rejected his narrative as fabulous. Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote in the same century as Geoffrey of Monmouth, tells us of a Welshman who had the faculty of seeing evil spirits, and who gave an unerring judgment on the truth or falsity of books placed before him or in his hands, by the freedom with which the evil spirits approached them: "Once," says Giraldus, "when he was much tormented by the evil spirits, he placed the Gospel of St. John in his bosom,

when they immediately vanished from his sight, flying away like birds; afterwards he laid the gospel aside, and for the sake of experiment took the History of the Britons, by Galfridus Arthurus, in its place, when they returned and covered not only his body, but the book in his bosom, far more thickly and more troublesome than usual."* A contemporary of Giraldus, William of Newbury, also indicates the common opinion of the falseness of this history, and treats its author with remarkable rudeness.†

In spite of the judgment of the sober historians of the age in which it was published, Geoffrey's history became extensively popular, and there are few other works of which so great a number of copies exist in manuscript. He had, unknowingly perhaps, wandered from the domain of history into that of romance, which was more agreeable to the taste of his time. His book was soon translated into Anglo-Norman, into English, and even into Welsh, and each successive translator added to his original from other legends or from his own imagination. Within a century after its first publication it was generally adopted by writers on English history, and during several centuries only one or two rare instances occur of persons who ven-

* Girald. Cambr. Itiner. Cambriæ, lib. I, c. 5.

† Quidam nostris temporibus . . . Gaufridus hic dictus est, agnomen habens Arturi, pro eo quod fabulas de Arturo ex priscis Britonum figmentis sumptas, et ex proprio auctas, per superductum Latini sermonis colorem, honesto historæ nomine palliavit . . . Præterea in libro suo, quem Britonum Historiam vocat, quam petulanter et impudenter fere per omnia mentiatur, nemo nisi veterum historiarum ignarus, cum in librum illum incidit, ambigere sinitur . . . Omitto quanta de gestis Britonum ante Julii Cæsaris imperium et adventum homo ille confixerit, vel ab aliis conficta tanquam autentica, scripserit. Omitto quæcunque in laudibus Britonum contra fidem historicæ veritatis deliravit, &c.—Wil. Neubrig. De rebus Anglicis, procem. It is hardly necessary to refer to the numerous attempts which have been made to defend Geoffrey and his history: they are chiefly remarkable for their want of critical discrimination. The introduction to Thomson's translation may be taken as a specimen.

tured to speak against its veracity. The beautiful stories with which it abounds became the foundation of a considerable portion of the national literature, and its author has thus obtained a place among the classical writers of our island. The first part of the history of king Lear will serve as a specimen of Geoffrey's style, which is not superior to that of the common writers of his age.

Cedente igitur fatis Baldudo erigitur Leir ejusdem filius in regem, qui sexaginta annis patriam viriliter rexit. Ædificavit autem super fluvium Soram civitatem quæ Britonum lingua Kaerleir, Saxonice Leircestre nuncupatur. Cui negata masculini sexus prole, natæ sunt filiæ tres vocatæ Gonorilla, Ragana, Cordeilla. Qui eas miro amore sed maximo minimam, Cordeillam videlicet, diligebat. Cumque in senectutem vergere cœpisset, cogitavit regnum suum ipsis dividere, eoque talibus maritis dare qui easdem cum regno haberent. Sed ut sciret quæ illarum regni potiore parte dignior esset, adivit singulas sciscitans quæ ipsum plus diligeret. Interrogante ergo illo, Gonorilla prima respondente numina cœli testata est patrem sibi plus cordi esse quam animam qua degebat: cui pater, "Quoniam senectutem meam vitæ tuæ præposuisti, te, charissima filia, maritabo juveni quemcunque elegeris, cum tertia parte Britanniæ." Deinde Ragana, quæ secunda erat, exemplo sororis suæ benevolentiam patris allicere volens, jurejurando respondit se nullatenus conceptum exprimere posse, nisi quod ipsum super omnes creaturas diligerat. Credulus ergo pater eadem dignitate quam primogenitæ promiserat, cum tertia videlicet parte regni eam maritandam ducit. At Cordeilla ultima cum intellexisset eum prædictarum adulationibus acquievisse, tentare illum cupiens aliter respondere pergit; "Est uspiam, mi pater, filia quæ patrem suum plusquam patrem diligere præsumat? Non reor equidem ullam esse quæ hoc fateri audeat, nisi jocosis verbis veritatem celare nitatur: nempe ego dilexi te semper ut patrem, nec adhuc a proposito diverter, etsi a me magis extorquere insistis; audi in te mei amoris quantitatem, et quem adversus te jugiter habeo, et interrogationibus tuis finem impone, etenim quantum habes tantum vales tantumque te diligo." Porro pater iratus eam ex abundantia stomachi dixisse vehementer indignans, quæ respondens erat manifestare non distulit; "Quia in tantum senectutem patris tui sprevisti, ut vel eo amore quo me sorores tuæ diligunt dedignata es diligere, ego et te dedignabor, nec usquam in regno meo cum tuis sororibus partem habebis: non dico tamen, cum filia mea sis, quin alicui (si illum fortuna obtulerit) utcunque maritem; illud autem affirmo, quod nunquam eo honore quo sorores tuas te maritare laborabo, quippe cum te hucusque plusquam cæteras dilexerim, tu vero me minus quam reliquæ diligas." Nec mora, consilio procerum regni dedit prædictas puellas duas duobus ducibus, Cornubiæ videlicet et Albaniæ, cum medietatæ tantum insulæ dum ipse viveret, post

obitum autem ejus totam monarchiam Britanniæ eisdem habendam concedebat.

It has been already observed that the prophecies of Merlin formed originally a distinct work from the History of the Britons: we frequently find it separate in early manuscripts, and in the thirteenth century it was made the subject of a learned commentary by Alanus de Insulis, which contains some valuable notices of English history. Another life of Merlin, written in very superior Latin verse, has also been long attributed to Geoffrey of Monmouth, but apparently without sufficient reason. In this poem the subject is treated in a manner so entirely different from the prose account of Merlin by Geoffrey, and it is written with so much more spirit and genius, that we can hardly doubt its being the composition of another person. None of the allusions of the writer of the poem to himself agree with the person of Geoffrey of Monmouth. He speaks of himself as a well known poet; he addresses his poem to Robert bishop of Lincoln, "the glory of prelates," and complains of the neglect with which he had been treated by his predecessor.

Fatidici vatis rabiem musamque jocosam
Merlini cantare paro: tu corrige carmen,
Gloria pontificum, calamos moderando, Roberte!
Scimus enim quia te perfudit nectare sacro
Philosophia suo, fecitque per omnia doctum,
Ut documenta dares, dux et præceptor in orbe.
Ergo meis cœptis faveas, vatemque tueri
Auspicio meliore velis, quam fecerit alter
Cui modo succedis, merito promotus honori:
Sic etenim mores, sic vita probata genusque,
Utilitasque loci, clerus populusque petebant;
Unde modo felix Lincolnia fertur ad astra.
Ergo te cuperem complecti carmine digno:
Sed non sufficio, licet Orpheus et Camerinus
Et Macer et Marius, magnique Rabirius oris,
Ore meo canerent, Musis comitantibus, omnes.

Ad vos, consuetæ mecum cantare Camœnæ,
Propositum cantemus opus, cytharamque sonate.

Robert de Cheineto, the only Robert to whom Geoffrey could have dedicated the poem, had not the slightest claim to any of the epithets here bestowed on Robert bishop of Lincoln, whose predecessor Alexander was the historian's patron and friend; while the description applies so exactly to the great philosopher of the thirteenth century, Robert Grostête, that we can hardly hesitate in attributing the metrical life of Merlin to some poet who sought his patronage. The error appears to have arisen from the following lines found at the end of the poem in the only perfect manuscript now extant, and probably composed toward the end of the thirteenth century by some writer who, finding it without any name of its author, was led by its subject to attribute it to Geoffrey of Monmouth:—

Duximus ad metam carmen: vos ergo, Britanni,
Laurea serta date Gaufrido de Monumeta.
Est etenim vester: nam quondam prælia vestra
Vestrorumque ducum cecinit, scripsitque libellum
Quem nunc Gesta vocant Britonum celebrata per orbem.

Another work has been attributed with still less reason to Geoffrey of Monmouth. It is extant in two manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,* and is entitled *Compendium Gaufredi de Corpore Christi et Sacramento Eucharistiæ.* But its author appears to have been a Frenchman, who was in his youth a disciple of Abelard, until he deserted his school to range himself under the scholastic banner of St. Bernard; it is in fact a well-known treatise of Geoffrey of Auxerre. Bale gives several other titles of books pretended to have been written by Geoffrey of Monmouth, which are so evidently the offspring of his own imagination that they deserve no further consideration.

* No. 177, art. 44, and No. 331, art. 2.

Editions.

Britānie vtriusq; regū & prīcipū Origo & Gesta insignia ab Galfrido Monemutensi ex antiquissimis Britannici sermonis monumentis in Latinum sermonem ē traducta & ab Ascensio cura & impēdio magistri Iuonis Cauellati in lucem edita: prostant in eiusdem ædibus. 4to. Id. Jul. 1508.

Britanniæ vtriusq; Regū et Principum Origo & gesta insignia ab Galfrido Monemutensi ex antiquissimis Britannici sermonis monumentis in Latinum traducta: & ab Ascensio rursus majore accuratione impressa. Væenundantur in eiusdem ædibus. 4to. Id. Septem. 1517.

Rerum Britannicarum, in est Angliae, Scotiae, vicinarumque insularum ac regionum, Scriptores vetustiores ac præcipui. Fol. Heidelberg, (Commelin.) 1587. pp. 1—92, Galfredi Monumetensis Historiæ Regum Britanniæ.

Prophetia Anglicana, Merlini Ambrosii Britanni, ex incubo olim (ut hominum fama est) ante annos mille ducentos circiter in Anglia nati, Vaticinia et Prædictiones; a Galfredo Monumetensi Latine conversæ: una cum septem libris explanationum.... Alani de Insulis, &c. Francofurti, 1603. Small 8vo.

Prophetia Anglicana et Romana, hoc est, Merlini Ambrosii Britanni, ex incubo olim ante annos mille ducentos in Anglia nati, Vaticinia, a Galfredo Monumetensi Latine conscripta, una cum Septem Libris Explanationum.... Alani de Insulis, &c. Francofurti, 1608. 8vo.

Gaufridi Arthuri Monemuthensis Archidiaconi, postea vero episcopi Asaphensis, de Vita et Vaticiniis Merlini Calidonii carmen heroicum. Londini, 1830. 4to. Edited by W. H. Black, for the Roxburghe Club.

Galfridi de Monemuta Vita Merlini. Vie de Merlin attribuée à Geoffroy de Monmouth, suivie des Prophéties de ce Barde, tirées du iv[e] livre de l'Histoire des Bretons; publiées, d'après les Manuscrits de Londres, par Francisque Michel et Thomas Wright. Parisiis, 1837. 8vo.

Galfridi Monumetensis Historia Britonum, nunc primum in Anglia ex novem codicibus MSStis. edita, ab I. A. Giles, e C.C.C. Oxon. 8vo. (*in the press.*)

Translations.

The British History, translated into English from the Latin of Jeffrey of Monmouth. With a large Preface concerning the authority of the History. By Aaron Thompson, late of Queen's College, Oxon. 8vo. London, 1718.

The British History of Geoffrey of Monmouth. In twelve books. Translated from the Latin, by A. Thompson, Esq. A new edition, revised and corrected, by J. A. Giles, LL.D. 8vo. London, 1842.

GAIMAR AND DAVID.

Geoffrey Gaimar was a distinguished trouvère of the reign of Stephen. All we know of his personal history is that he was attached to the household of Constance, the wife of Ralph Fitz Gilbert, at whose request he composed his history of England in Anglo-Norman verse. He was the first who published an Anglo-Norman version of the History of the British Kings by Geoffrey of Monmouth. He gives an account of the materials he used in the following lines, which have been strangely misunderstood and misinterpreted by the abbé de la Rue, who believed that he translated his history of the British kings from a Welsh book independently of the history of Geoffrey.

Ici voil del rei finer.
Ceste estorie fist translater
Dame Custance la gentil;
Gaimar i mist Mars e Averil
E tuz les dusze mais,
Ainz k'il oust translaté des reis.
Il purchaca maint esamplaire,
Liveres Engleis e par gramaire,
E en Romanz e en Latin,
Ainz k'en pust traire à la fin.
Si sa dame ne li aidast,
Jà à nul jor ne l'achevast.
Ele enveiad à Helmeslac
Pur le livere Walter Espac.
Robert li quens de Gloucestre
Fist translater icele geste
Solum les liveres as Waleis
K'il avoient des Bretons reis;
Walter Espec le demandat,
Li quens Robert li enveiat;
Puis le prestat Walter Espec
A Raul le fiz Gilebert.

Dame Custance l'enpruntat
De son seignur, k'ele mult amat.
Geffrai Gaimar cel livere escrit,
Le translata e fés i mist
Ke li Waleis ourent leissé,
K'il aveit ainz purchasé,
U fust à dreit u fust à tort,
Li bon livere de Oxeford,
Ki fust Walter l'arcediaen
Si en amendat son livere bien.
E de l'estorie de Wincestre
Fust amendé ceste geste;
De Wassingburc un livere Engleis,
U il trovad escrit des reis
E de tuz les emperurs
Ke de Rome furent seignurs,
E de Engleterre ourent treu,
Des reis ki d'els ourent tenu,
De lur vies e de lur plaiz,
Des aventures e des faiz,
Coment chescons maintint la terre,
Quel ama pes, e liquel guerre;
De tut le plus pout çi trover,
Ki en cest livere volt esgarder.

It appears very evidently from this recital that the only history of the British kings used by Gaimar was the then recently published work of Geoffrey of Monmouth. He says that Robert earl of Gloucester had caused it to be translated from the "Welsh" book, a mistake in the description of the original, into which he very easily fell, considering the dubious import of the Latin *Britannicus* at that time. Walter Espec, a Yorkshire baron well known for his munificent liberality, obtained a copy of this book, immediately after it was completed, from earl Robert himself. Subsequently, after long seeking for it, Gaimar heard of this copy in the possession of Walter Espec, and his patroness, through the means of her husband, obtained the loan of it. He repeats that the original of this was the "Welsh" (i. e. Breton) book of Oxford, belonging to Walter the archdeacon, information which he gleaned from

Geoffrey's preface. Gaimar then tells us that he translated and transferred the facts of the British History into his own book, "and thereby improved his book very much." His history was also improved by the Winchester History, as well as by an English book of Wassinburgh, where he found the histories of the emperors of Rome to whom England was tributary, and of the kings who held of them; perhaps Alfred's Orosius, or a copy of the Saxon Chronicle. It it not easy to say where M. de la Rue learnt that Gaimar had Geoffrey's translation of the Breton book of Walter Calenius and also a translation of a Welsh book of the same history, and that he corrected the one by the other.

The History of the British kings formed only a portion of Gaimar's history, which was continued through the Anglo-Saxon period and the reigns of the two first princes of the Norman dynasty; and he declares at the conclusion his intention at a future period of writing a separate history of the reign of Henry I.* The portion translated from Geoffrey of Monmouth appears to have been so entirely eclipsed by the later and probably more ample version of Wace, that it seems now to be lost; and the only part extant is the Anglo-Saxon history with the conclusion, preserved in four manuscripts† as a continuation of the Brut of Wace. Gaimar's history is chiefly valuable for the attention which he paid to the traditions and legends of his time, several of which appear in his story, such as the romance of Havelok, and the story of Here-

* Ore dit Gaimar, s'il ad guarant,
Del rei Henri dirrat avant,
Ke s'il en volt un poi parler,
E de sa vie t̃ranslater,
Tels mil choses en purrad dire
Ke unkes Davit ne fist escrivere, &c.

† MS. Reg. 13 A. XXI. and three manuscripts in the College of Arms and in the libraries of Durham and Lincoln Cathedrals.

ward. His style is, on the whole, more pleasing than that of Wace. We are enabled to fix with tolerable precision the period at which he wrote his history by the persons to whom he alludes. M. de la Rue was wrong in supposing that it must have been finished before the death of Robert earl of Gloucester; on the contrary it is more than probable that it was begun subsequently to that event. But as Walter Espec died in 1153, and, as Gaimar mentions Adelaide of Louvaine as still living, who died in 1151, there can be no doubt that our poet wrote between 1147 and 1151.

Gaimar speaks of a contemporary Anglo-Norman poet named David, who had written by order of Adelaide of Louvaine a metrical history of the reign of Henry I. which Gaimar blames as barren in details and in historical interest; and he advises him to revise and enlarge his work. Yet he says that queen Adelaide held it in great esteem, and that his patroness the lady Constance had given a mark of silver to have a transcript, which she frequently read "in her chamber."* We have no other information relating to this trouvère or his works.

Editions.

The ancient English romance of Havelok the Dane; accompanied by the French text: with an Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary, by Frederick Madden, Esq.... Printed for the Roxburghe Club. London, 1828. 4to. pp. 149—180. The portion of Gaimar which relates to the story of Havelok.

Chroniques Anglo-Normandes. Recueil d'Extraits et d'Ecrits relatifs à l'Histoire de Normandie et de l'Angleterre pendant les XI[e] et XII[e] siècles; publié..par Francisque Michel. Tome premier. 8vo. Rouen, 1835. The latter portion of Gaimar's History, commencing with the Norman conquest.

Collection of Historians edited by order of the Record Commission, vol. i. pp. 764—829, L'Estorie des Engles solum la Translation maistre Geffrei Gaimar. The portion of the history previous to the Conquest, with the concluding lines of the poem in which the author speaks of himself and his undertaking.

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* See the concluding lines of Gaimar's History.

ALFRED OF BEVERLEY.

This author derives his chief importance from the dispute which has arisen whether he preceded or came after Geoffrey of Monmouth. Historians and bibliographers have all fixed at too early a date the period when Alfred of Beverley compiled his history. All that we know of his life is derived from his own writings. It is probable that he was born about the beginning of the twelfth century, for he states at the commencement of his book that the colony of Flemings had been planted in the neighbourhood of Ross on the borders of Wales, by King Henry I., in *his* time, an event which is considered to have taken place about A.D. 1105. He tells us that in the days of "his silence," when the diocese of York laboured under an interdict, and the clergy were not allowed to perform their ecclesiastical duties,* he tried to occupy his forced leisure, and turn away his thoughts from the vexations with which he was encompassed to the study of history, and from this circumstance he derived his taste for historical researches. There cannot be the least doubt that Alfred refers to the troubles which arose in the diocese of York from the rivalry of the two archbishops, Henry and William, supported severally by the contending parties in the civil convulsions of the reign of Stephen.† This dispute, which

* In diebus silentii nostri, quando non poteramus reddere Deo quæ Dei erant, et tamen cogebamur reddere Cæsari quæ Cæsaris erant, quod propter præsentem excommunicatorum multitudinem secundum Londoniensis concilii decretum a divinis cessabamus, et regiis exactionibus afflicti vitam tædiosam agebamus, grassante oppressione qua, expulsis ad regis edictum de sedibus suis ecclesiæ nostræ columnis, diu graviterque vexatus sum.—Alfr. Beverl. in prolog. p. 2.

† See Godwin. de Episcopis.

began in 1141 or 1142, causing the diocese to be placed under an interdict, only ended with the death of archbishop William, who was poisoned, as it is said, by his clergy in 1154. While occupied with his historical researches, it appears that the history of Geoffrey of Monmouth was published, and began to create a great sensation. Alfred, hearing people talk of British kings of whom he was entirely ignorant, and ashamed to be obliged continually to confess that he knew nothing about them, became anxious to obtain a sight of the new history, and with much difficulty succeeded. He perused it with avidity, and, charmed with the novelty of its contents, he would have made a transcript of it for himself, if he had been allowed sufficient time and had possessed money enough to buy the materials at once; but this not being the case, he determined to make an abridgment of it.* Alfred, like Gaimar, does not mention the name of Geoffrey of Monmouth as the author of the book he abridged, but he quotes it by the title which Geoffrey gave to it, *Historia Britonum*,† and no one who has read over the two books can doubt for a moment that Geoffrey's history was the original, for Alfred often transfers Geoffrey's words to his own book. It appears quite clear, from the manner in which Alfred speaks, that all that was known about this history originated in the work of Geoffrey, and that it was quite new

* Quæsivi historiam, et ea vix inventa, lectioni ejus intentissime studium adhibui. Dumque rerum antiquarum nova lectione delectarer, mox mihi animus ad eam transcribendam scatebat, sed temporis opportunitas et marsupii facultas non suppetebat. Ut autem desiderio gliscenti aliqua ex parte satisfacerem.... de præfata historia quædam deflorare studui.—Alf. Bev. in Prolog. ut supra.

† He sometimes refers his readers to the *Historia Britonum* for the details of the more interesting stories, as in that of Lear,—Qualiter autem vergente eo in senium, ipse a duabus filiabus spretus et ab earum maritis sit pulsatus, qualiterque junior filia eum susceperit, &c..... Historia Britonum plenius docet.—Alfr. Beverl. p. 14.

even to historians, and on that account had excited much curiosity.

Alfred goes on to inform us that, having abridged the history of the Britons, he determined to abridge other historians, so as to continue his book through the Saxon and Norman times. We trace as having gone through this process, among others, Bede, Florence of Worcester, and the northern writer, Simeon of Durham, which historian appears to have been the last he used, for Alfred's history closes in the same year with that of Simeon, A.D. 1129, the 29th year of Henry I. Many writers, believing that he continued his history to the end of his life, have fixed upon that year as the date of his death, which probably did not take place till the reign of Henry II.* We only know that he was a monk of Beverley; the titles in the earlier manuscripts are unanimous that he was treasurer of that church, or, as one manuscript called him, sacristan, which was but another name for the same office. Some modern writers have advanced the opinion, directly opposed to the historical evidence, that the title of treasurer was given him only as a literary honour, because his book is a *treasure* of history, which it certainly is not. His historical notices are extremely brief, and his style is that of the ordinary writers of his age: the following lines include the period from the battle of Hastings to king William's departure for Normandy.

Anno igitur M°lxvi ab incarnatione Domini dux Normannorum Willielmus, occiso in bello rege Haroldo, ab Hastinga movens, vastatis provinciis, venit ad Wertham, ubi Aldredus archiepiscopus, Wlstanus Wigorniensis episcopus, Walterus Herefordensis episcopus, clito Edgarus, comites Edwinus et

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* He appears also to have used Henry of Huntingdon, from whom his account of the four wonders of Britain in his prologue as it now stands, and the verses beginning with the words, "Anglia terra ferax," with which John Withamstede says the book commenced, were taken.

Morcharus, et de Lundonia quique meliores, cum multis ad eum venerunt, et datis obsidibus illi deditionem fecerunt, fidelitatemque juraverunt. Inde cum exercitu Lundoniam adiit, et in die Natalis Domini ab Aldredo Eboracensi archiepiscopo, quia Stigandus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus a papa calumniatus erat pallium non suscepisse canonice, apud Westmonasterium in regem consecratus est honorifice: prius, ut idem archiepiscopus exigebat ab eo, ante altare Sancti Petri coram clero et populo jurejurando promittens, se velle sanctas Dei ecclesias ac rectores earum defendere, et cunctum populum sibi subjectum juste ac regali providentia regere, rectam legem statuere, tenere, rapinas injustaque penitus interdicere. Post hæc in Quadragesima rex Willielmus Normanniam repetiit.

Bale has increased the number of works attributed to Alfred of Beverley, by making three different titles out of his one known historical epitome. He is said to have written a life of John of Beverley; but we know with more certainty that he was the author of a work on the rights and privileges of his church, which he is said in the title to have translated from English into Latin, and which was preserved in the Cottonian library, but the volume containing it unfortunately perished in the fire.*

Edition.

Aluredi Beverlacensis Annales, sive Historia de Gestis Regum Britanniæ, Libris IX. e codice pervetusto....Descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius. Oxonii, 1716. 8vo.

OSBERN OF GLOUCESTER.

Osbern, monk of Gloucester, who is only known to us through his writings, holds a high place among the theological writers of the twelfth century. Leland passes a warm

* MS. Cotton. Otho, C. xvi. Libertates Ecclesiæ S. Joh. Beverlac. cum privilegiis apostolicis et episcopalibus, quas magister Aluredus sacrista ejusdem ecclesiæ de Anglico in Latinum transtulit. Princ. *Decursa per ordinem.*

eulogium on his style and learning, which is not altogether unmerited. As one of his works is dedicated to Gilbert bishop of Hereford, who held that see from 1149 to 1162, and he had no doubt lived in the society of that prelate while he was abbot of Gloucester, from which office he was promoted to the episcopacy, Osbern may be considered as having flourished in 1150. We have no further information relating to his life.

Osbern's Latinity is good for the age, and his style, considering the subject, is easy and agreeable. His dialogues, which form properly one work, are a kind of commentary on the five books of the Pentateuch; his friend Nicholas, probably a monk of the same house, is made to raise objections to different points in the sacred text, which Osbern, in reply, explains and defends. The following extract from the dialogue on the book of Genesis will serve to show the nature of this work :—

Nicol. Sana sunt ista, et animo maxime imprimenda. Sed cum scriptum sit, Qui vivit in æternum creavit omnia simul, quare Moyses divisis temporibus asserit omnia creata? Plurimum fateor dissonare videtur, cum una scriptura simul omnia, alia separatim et divise testatur creata.

Osbernus. Rudem illam et informem rerum materiam simul Deus creavit, i. e. ut esset quoddam universitatis primordium de nihilo consistere fecit, quæ nec a Deo adeo informis fuit ut a formoso factore sine forma omnino formaretur; sed iccirco maxime dicitur quasi informiter creata, vel quia nec dum hanc formosam in qua rerum ordinatio consistit recepit venustatem, vel quia in ipsa creationis permixtione sic fuit omnium pariter eis essentia, ut nondum facies singulorum appareret distincta. Non enim in illa creatione ista hodie illa in crastino prius quædam, quædam prodierunt posterius; sed ita potius simul, ut universorum in una permixtione adesset concreatio, et omnia in his per substantiam seminalem condita essent, quæ in suo nondum ordine distincta apparebant. Nec mora hanc secuta est aut tarditas, quia efficax animi imperium quam celerem protulit rerum effectum, quæ etiam adeo in melius profecit, ut qui prius ex potentia divini opificis existentiæ naturam assumpsit, protinus ex ejusdem beneficio formæ et decoris ornatum assumeret, et sic, secundum prophetam, fecit Deus quæ facta sunt, cum omnia prius in rerum processerunt creationem, deinde se manifestius ostenderunt in creationis distinctionem.

Osbern also wrote a commentary on the book of Judges,

in six books, dedicated to Gilbert bishop of Hereford; and four treatises on the Incarnation, Nativity, Passion, and Resurrection, of Christ, which appear to compose one continued work.

All the works above mentioned are contained in one very handsome manuscript on vellum in the British Museum,* which Leland, who saw it at Gloucester, believed to be Osbern's original copy. We are not aware that any other copy of Osbern's writings is known to exist, and none of them have been printed. Leland mentions another work by Osbern, dedicated to the abbot Hamelin, and entitled Panormia, which Bale attributes to Osbern of Canterbury. In the time of Leland a manuscript of this work was preserved in the abbey at Gloucester, but it appears to be now lost.

LAURENCE OF DURHAM.

The most remarkable writer of Latin verse during the reign of Stephen was Laurence, a monk of Durham, where he first held the office of precentor, and was then taken to court in the capacity of a chaplain, and enjoyed the favour of the king.† He was made prior of Durham about the year 1149. An old historian of the see of Durham describes him as "a man of great discretion and honest conversation, skilled in the law, endowed with eloquence, well grounded in the divine institutes, and not needing to beg counsel of others in adversity."‡ This

* MS. Reg. 6 D. IX.

† See the Prologue to his Hypognosticon, and Wharton, Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 787.

‡ Rogero priori successit Laurentius, vir magnæ discretionis et honestæ conversationis, in jure peritus, eloquentio præditus, divinis institutis suffi-

writer informs us that Laurence died in 1154, prior of Durham;* so that Leland must be in error, when he states that he was made abbot of Westminster by Henry I. We learn from another annalist of the see of Durham that Laurence, having in 1153 accompanied Hugh the elect bishop to Rome, was attacked by sickness in his way back and died in France, and that his body was brought to Durham to be buried.†

The most important work of Laurence of Durham is a scriptural history in nine books, written in Latin elegiacs, under the title of Hypognosticon. In the first six books Laurence versifies the principal events of the Old Testament, sometimes paraphrasing the language of the Bible, and at others adding reflections, moralisations, and explanations of his own. Thus, speaking of the children of Adam, he tells us that the sons of Seth were diligent inquirers into the natures of things.

Cætera posteritas Seth quid facit? Illa quid, inquam,
    Stirps agit hic, cui nil præter honesta placet?
Cui comes est virtus, cui lex natura creatrix,
    Cui dux est ratio, cui deus ars et amor;
Cui studium causas inquirere, qualiter ignem
    Temperat æthereum duplicis algor aquæ;
Quis cœli motus, quibus astra recursibus ipsi
    Obvia discurrunt, quidve per istud agunt;
Ut sol nocte diem vel mutat lumine noctem,
    Utque calore suo res animare solet;
Quod lunæ sit opus, quis splendor, et ejus in orbem
    Cornua quid ducat, quidve resolvat item;
Quid sit et unde ruat nix, grando, fulmen, et imber;
    Quæ vis ventorum, quisve sit ortus eis;
Quæ natura feras, vis herbas, commoda fruges,
    Gratia commendet semina, nosse student.

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cienter instructus, nec habens opus ab aliis mendicare consilium in adversis. Annals of Durham, MS. Cotton. Claudius D. IV. fol. 77, v°.

* Anno Domini Millesimo .cliiij.[to] post mortem Laurentii creatus est Absolon in priorem Dunelmensem. MS. Cotton. Claud. D. IV. fol. 79, v°.

† Wharton, Anglia Sacra, loc. cit.

Talibus ecce student; lapsu tamen orta voluptas
Et male vexat eos, et probat esse reos.

In the following description of the sobriety of antediluvian manners, Laurence seems to identify the world before the flood with the golden age of the Grecian poets:

Hactenus antiquis patribus non esus in usu
Carnis erat, nec adhuc vina bibebat homo.
Vestis ei textura rudis, domus antra, cibusque
Panis, fons potus, res pecus, arma manus.
Cultior esca tamen tunc cruda legumina, glandes,
Poma, mel, et potus lac pretiosus erat.
Ipsius in domibus paries, fundamina, tectum,
Virga sequax, solidus cespes, arundo rudis.
Tunc illi vires sine marte fuere viriles,
Et sine flagitio vita quieta fuit.
Ut tamen in venerem prorsus ruit, irruit unda,
Perdens sæva pares crimine morte pari.

After relating Solomon's lapse to idolatry, Laurence runs into a long dissertation on the power and effects of love, and similar digressions arise from other subjects. The seventh book is devoted to the praise of the Virgin Mary; the eighth tells briefly the principal events of the gospel history; and the ninth is chiefly occupied with the enumeration of saints and martyrs, among whom St. Cuthbert, the patron of Durham, holds a prominent place. It appears that this poem was commenced at Durham, when its author was precentor, and that he had only reached the end of the first book when he was called to court. He still, however, persisted in his favourite studies, and in the opening lines of the second book he describes and laments the change in his position.

Hactenus ipse meus musis studiosus adhæsi,
Et lusi vario carmina sæpe stilo;
Lusit et exactum calamo spatiante libellum
Mens mea more pari cætera posse putans.
Jam vero quid agam? raptum sibi curia curis
Implicat, et sibi dans me mihi tollit atrox.

Pondera pro metris meditarier urgeor, æra
Sæpius in manibus quam bona scripta ferens.
Sæpius invigilo quot mille talenta minutis
Constent, quam pedibus quot mihi versus eat.
Si tamen interdum Pegasea via recta subopto,
Aut montem capitum tempto tenere duum,
Has mea mens et eas admittere nescia curas
Insimul, hinc alias mox revocata venit;
Et velut apprensa pulchra spado virgine, triste
Suspirat, tristis pectora, sic et ego,
Aut vice me pueri plorando vindico, cœptum
Num tamen hoc calamus noster omittet opus?
Non ita. Namque licet nequeam quicquid volo, saltem
Hoc volo quod possum, dictaque prodet opus.
Et sic pro claustro mihi curia, proque Dunelmo
Anglia, pro requie sæpe tumultus erit.

And again at the beginning of the ninth book, when declaiming against the vice of idleness, he draws the following comparison between his own tastes and occupations and the pursuits of the courtiers amidst whom he lived.

Hæc ego dum recolo, pro viribus otia vito,
Vito quod invitat prorsus ad omne malum.
Et quid ago? non arma fero, non mœnia pono,
Ad lucra non sudo, semina nulla sero.
Sed missas et carmen amo; neque curia curam
Hanc in Pieridum tollere nostra potest.
Ferveat ecce licet levis alea, tessera certet,
Turgeat acer eques, verba superba volent;
Et seri licet inde senes sua seria tractent,
Hinc instet variis læta juventa jocis.
In strepitu studio plerumque vacare laboro,
Hinc quasi non videam stulta videre queo.
Hinc licet ad nostras sermo strepat impius aures,
Sæpe licet tangat non tamen intrat eas.
Pierides mihi sunt equites, sed et alea nobis
Nostra Thalia, stilus tessera grata mihi.
Accipiter mihi sæpe liber, versum vice nisi
Tracto, pro canibus carmina sæpe sequor;
Pro phalera pluteum, calamum jaculi vice porto,
Arcus et arma meus dum vacat est calamus.
Qui licet exhibeat neque fulmina Quintiliani,
Nec fluvios Plauti, seu Ciceronis opes,

Et licet hunc superet brevitate Salustius apta,
    Ennius ingenio, pondere Varro suo,
Sic tamen interdum brevis esse laborat, ut idem
    Non nimis obscurus sit brevitate sua;
Ne nimis enervis sectetur levia, captans
    Grandia, ne nimium turgeat usque studet.
Utque frequenter eo procul otia pello, repello
    Tædia, sic etiam crimina pello simul.
Et si non aliis, mihi sic mea carmina prosunt;
    Et quia sic prosunt, me quoque jure juvant.

These extracts will be sufficient to show that Laurence wrote Latin verse with considerable elegance and facility, for the time at which he lived. There are two good manuscripts of the Hypognosticon in the British Museum,* and it is found in other libraries.

Next to the Hypognosticon, the most important work of Laurence of Durham is a Consolation on the death of a friend (*Consolatio pro morte amici*), consisting of a dialogue in prose intermixed with short poems in various metres. It is, in fact, an imitation of the work of Boethius *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*. The versification in this work is more pleasing than that of the Hypognosticon, because the writer appears less fettered by his subject. The following lines may serve as a specimen:

Optantem vetitis currere curribus,
Inferrique locis exitialibus,
Phaetontem temeris nititur ausibus
    Absterrere suus pater.
Sed flecti refugit mens temeraria,
Ignavumque putat cœpta relinquere,
Nec voti cupidus quam gravis exitus
    Ipsum subsequitur videt.

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* MS. Cotton. Vespas. D. XI. and MS. Reg. 4 A. VI. One of the early transcribers of this poem, named Galienus, composed some rhyming verses forming a brief table of contents of the nine books, and gives the following account of their author (MS. Cotton. Claudius D. IV. fol. 77, v°.)—

Utque palam pateat quis sit Laurentius iste,
Initium breviter tanti reserabo sophistæ;
Hoc sacra Dunelmi domus est decorata priore,
Hujus adornatur studio studiique labore.

Fœlix si vel eos ipse relinqueret
Dissuasos, vel iter carperet à patre
Ostensum, sed et hæc illaque devovens,
Luctus causa patri perit.
O quos alterius visa pericula,
Aut audita, docent nolle nocentia,
Dignos laude puto : tu quoque laudibus
Dignus si sapias eris.

This work precedes the Hypognosticon in the Cottonian manuscript, at the end of which are several short pieces resembling rhetorical exercises in prose, entitled, *Oratio Laurentii pro Laurentio, Oratio Laurentii pro naufragis, Oratio Laurentii pro juvenibus compeditis, Invectio Laurentii in Malgerum, Oratio Laurentii pro Milone.* The Annals of Durham above quoted recite the titles of all the preceding works of Laurence of Durham, and add to them a Rythm on Christ and his disciples *(Rythmus factus de Christo et discipulis suis)*, and a poem on the city and bishopric of Durham, by way of dialogue between Laurence and Peter.* He wrote also in prose a life of St. Bridget, dedicated to Ethelred, one of the officers of the king's household (*dispensator domus regiæ*), and therefore probably while he was residing at court. This is the only work of Laurence of Durham which has been printed. Bale, Leland, and Leyser, ascribe to him other works, some of which are merely titles made out of the ninth book of the Hypognosticon, and some the works of another writer of the same name.†

* Scripsit etiam metrice de civitate et episcopatu Dunelmi per modum dialogi inter Laurentium et Petrum. MS. Cotton. Claud. D. IV. fol. 77, v°.

† In the catalogue of the books of Durham in the twelfth century, among those printed by the Surtees Society, p. 8, we find a list of the *Libri Laurentii prioris*, from which it would appear that his private library was not very extensive, as it is there made to consist only of seven books, four of which are glosses on the Psalter, the Epistles of St. Paul, and Isaiah, and the other three the Sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux, a book entitled *Versarius*, and Tullius de Amicitia.

Edition.

Acta Sanctorum Februarii. Tomus I. Antverpiæ, 1658, fol. pp. 172–185. Vita S. Brigidæ Virg. auctore Laurentio Dunelmensi, ex MS. Salmanticensi.

CARADOC OF LANCARVAN.

This writer was a contemporary of Geoffrey of Monmouth, from whom we learn that he was occupied in compiling a history of the Welsh princes from the death of Cadwallader to the middle of the twelfth century.* This work, which there can be no doubt was written in Latin, appears to be now lost; except in a pretended Welsh version, which has again been translated into English, and printed with a continuation. How far this translation is a faithful representative of Caradoc's history, we cannot determine without the original text. Pits states that in his time there was a copy of the original in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Caradoc also wrote a short life of Gildas, which is extant. This tract appears to be a mere legend. The modern editor supposes that it was wrongly ascribed to Caradoc; but we have given reasons for believing the contrary in the first volume of the present work.† Bale states further that Caradoc wrote commentaries on Merlin, and a book *De situ orbis*. Caradoc's history is said to have been brought down to the year 1154, about which time he is generally supposed to have died.

* Reges autem illorum qui ab illo tempore in Gualiis successerunt Karadoco Lancarvanensi contemporaneo meo in materia scribendi permitto. Geoffrey of Monmouth, Hist. Briton. *cap.* ult.

† See vol. i. Anglo-Saxon period, p. 119, note.

Edition.

Gildas de Excidio Britanniæ. recens. Jos. Stevenson. Lond. 1838. 8vo. pp. xxv—xli, Vita S. Gildæ, auctore (ut fertur) Caradoco Lancarvanensi.

Translations.

The historie of Cambria, now called Wales: a part of the most famous Yland of Brytaine, written in the Brytish language aboue two hundreth yeares past: translated into English by H. Lhoyd, Gentleman: Corrected, augmented, and continued out of Records and best approoued Authors, by Dauid Powel, Doctor in divinitie. 4to. London, 1584.

The History of Wales: comprehending the Lives and Succession of the Princes of Wales, from Cadwalader the last King, to Lhewelyn the last Prince, of British Blood. With a short Account of the Affairs of Wales, under the Kings of England. Written originally in British, by Caradoc of Lhancarvan; and formerly published in English by Dr. Powel. Now newly augmented and improved by W. Wynne, A.M. London, 1697. 8vo.

Another edition, or a reprint of this edition, was published in 1702, 8vo.

The History of Wales, written originally in British, by Caradoc of Lhancarvan, Englished by Dr. Powell, and augmented by W. Wynne, . . . to which is added, A Description of Wales, by Sir John Price. A new edition, greatly improved and enlarged. London, 1774. 8vo.

The History of Wales. Written originally in British by Caradoc of Llancarvan; translated into English by Dr. Powell; augmented by W. Wynne; revised and corrected, and a collection of Topographical Notices attached thereto, by Richard Llwyd, gent. of Llannerch-Brockwel, in the county of Montgomery. Shrewsbury, 1832. 8vo.

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON.

Henry of Huntingdon is another distinguished writer whose personal history is only known from a few scattered allusions in his own works.* He informs us that his father, who, like the father of Ordericus Vitalis, was a married priest or clerk, was named Nicholas;† and that at a very

* Even John Capgrave, in the middle of the fifteenth century, who introduces Henry of Huntingdon into his book De illustribus Henricis, could find no other information relating to him.

† I have only the authority of Leland for the name, and of Cave for the

early age he was introduced into the household of Robert, bishop of Lincoln,* where he was educated in company with the sons of princes and nobles, and that to his friendship and protection he owed all his advancement in life. Robert Bloet was bishop of Lincoln during thirty years, from 1092 to 1122. Henry appears to have been appointed archdeacon of Huntingdon and Hertfordshire shortly before the death of that prelate.† The date of his death is not known, but it probably occurred soon after 1154.

Henry, who takes the name by which he is commonly known from his archdeaconry, appears to have been early connected with the abbey of Ramsey, two of the abbots of which, Alduin and Reginald, he names as his literary friends and preceptors, and he honours with the same title Albinus canon of Lincoln.‡ Another of his most intimate friends was named Walter, whom Leland supposed to have been Walter abbot of Ramsey, though, according to others, he was Walter Calenius, archdeacon of Oxford, which last opinion appears to be countenanced in some degree by the epithet of *consors* which he applies to him.§ It was to this person, as he himself states, that he addressed his poetical writings, the work of his youth.

circumstance of his being a married priest, but I suppose they took their information from the inedited portion of his works.

* Cum puerulus, cum adolescens, cum juvenis, Roberti præsulis nostri gloriam conspicerem. Epist. ad Walterum, ap. Wharton, Angl. Sac. vol. ii. p. 694.

† Ib. p. 696.

‡ Leland, de Scrip. Brit. vol. i. p. 197, from the eighth (inedited) book of Henry's work.

§ In the letter addressed to Walter he speaks of Walter Calenius in the third person, yet in the manner he might be expected to speak of a friend. Oxenfordiæ quidem præposuit Alfredum, cui successit Walterus superlative rethoricus. Epist. ad Walter. ap. Wharton, p. 696. Leyser, Hist. Poet. Med. 8vo. p. 427, calls him Walter bishop of Winchester, which is an evident mistake.

Henry of Huntingdon's poetry is superior to the general standard of medieval Latin verse. It is somewhat miscellaneous, consisting of metrical treatises on herbs, gems, spices, &c. of hymns, of amatory poetry, and of epigrams. Leland quotes the following elegant lines from the invocation to his poem on herbs, which is founded on the older treatise of Macer:—

Vatum magne parens, herbarum Phœbe repertor,
  Vosque, quibus resonant Tempe jocosa, deæ,
Si mihi serta prius hedera florente parastis,
  Ecce meos flores, serta parate, fero.

There is a copy of his epigrams in the British Museum;* they are written in different metres, and some of them are in rhyme. Martial appears to have been his model. In the following he attacks a slanderous critic,—

De Zoilo.

Hominis esse velim præclari, Zoilus inquit,
  Et famæ ingentis, vincula ferte, furit.
Hæc mensura tuæ est elatio certa ruinæ,
  Ex libra quantum celsus es, imus eris.
Dic ubi præteriti sunt plausus, laus, honor, anni?
  Pœnæ causa peris, pœna perennis erit.

In the following epigram he speaks of love in very gingling rhimes:

De Amore.

Qui tenerorum vulnus amorum non reveretur,
Innumerorum tela dolorum perpetuetur.

The next is addressed to himself:—

In seipsum.

Sunt, vates Henrice, tibi versus bene culti,
  Et bene culta domus, et bene cultus ager.

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* MS. Reg. 13 C. II.

Et bene sunt thalami, bene sunt pomeria culta,
Hortus centimodis cultibus ecce nitet.
O jam culta tibi bene sunt, sed tu male cultus;
Se quicunque caret, dic mihi, dic, quid habet?

These playful productions were the amusement of his youth. In his maturer years he applied himself to more serious subjects. In 1135,* he wrote a book entitled *De Summitatibus Rerum*, in the beginning of which he treats on the subject which then engrossed the attention of the western church, the end of the world, which was believed to be near at hand. At a later period he was urged by Alexander bishop of Lincoln, whose friendship he enjoyed, to write a history of England, compiled from different writers, commencing with Bede. This he completed in seven books, ending with the death of Henry I. But he subsequently wrote a continuation, in one book, embracing the reign of Stephen, and ending with the year 1154. One of his last writings was probably the letter already alluded to, addressed to his friend Walter, *De Mundi Contemptu*; in it he recounts to his friend the number of rich, and powerful, and learned men whom they had seen sink successively into the grave. As he mentions William archbishop of York, then alive, as being the successor of archbishop Henry, this letter must have been written between October 1153, when Henry died, and June 1154, when William was poisoned. At the commencement he speaks of himself and his friend as being both far advanced in age, and near their time of quitting the vanities of this world, and at the conclusion of the epistle he states that he had already received the news of Walter's death, and that the conclusion of his letter must be an epitaph.† If

* Hic est annus qui comprehendit scriptorem, annus scilicet xxxv. regni gloriosi et invictissimi regis Henrici, annus lxix. ab adventu Normannorum.

† Epist. ad Walterum, p. 701.

the Walter thus spoken of be Walter Calenius, we are by this letter enabled to fix the period of his death.

The last literary labour of Henry's old age appears to have been to collect together all his writings, and arrange them into one series, which he divided into twelve books. There are two manuscripts of this book in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth. The first seven books contain the English History to the death of Henry I. The eighth book contains the history of the reign of Stephen; in some manuscripts this is transposed, and forms the tenth book. The ninth book begins with the tract *De Summitatibus Rerum*, which forms the prologue, and is followed by a letter to king Henry containing chronological tables of the kings and emperors of the Jews, Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, and Romans; a letter to Warin the Breton on the series of British kings given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, which he had omitted in his history, and which he now took from a copy of Geoffrey's book which he found at Bec;* and the letter to Walter, *De Contemptu Mundi*, before mentioned. The tenth book, *De Sanctis Angliæ et de Miraculis eorum*, he compiled from Bede and some other writers. The eleventh book contains the epigrams; and the twelfth his other metrical pieces. It has been observed by Wharton that Bale and Pitsius have made more than twenty titles of books out of this work, giving sometimes even the title of an epigram as that of a separate book.

A large portion of the earliest part of Henry's History is compiled and translated from the Saxon chronicle; he even translates the metrical parts, and in some instances

* Geoffrey of Monmouth had reflected upon Henry of Huntingdon for his knowing nothing of the British kings, in the conclusion of his Historia Britonum. See the note to p. 137, of the present volume. The first seven books of Henry's history were therefore published before the appearance of that of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

incorrectly, which shows that so early as the reign of Stephen the language of Anglo-Saxon poetry was becoming obsolete. He gives us some valuable notices of Anglo-Saxon history, which appear to be taken from old songs, and from tradition. Lappenberg has justly remarked that he differs in one respect from all the other monkish historians, who set no bounds to their zeal in raising the character of Dunstan, while Henry of Huntingdon bestows remarkable praise on king Eadwy. This perhaps may be attributed to his love of the popular songs of his country. He frequently quotes from Latin historical poets who are no longer extant, and sometimes inserts verses of his own. In the history of the Anglo-Norman period he tells us that he wrote down what he had heard from those who were witnesses or who had the means of learning the truth, or what he had seen himself, and this part of his history is valuable for its originality. His dates are frequently confused. As a specimen of Henry's style we give his account of the events of the ninth year of the reign of Stephen, which we are led to select because it is a passage in which he speaks from his own observation.

Nono rex Stephanus anno Lincoliam obsedit, ubi cum munitionem contra castellum, quod vi obtinebat consul Cestrensis, construeret, operatores sui ab hostibus præfocati sunt fere octoginta. Re igitur imperfecta rex confusus abscessit. Anno autem ipso consul Gaufridus de Magnavilla regem validissime vexavit, et in omnibus valde gloriosus effulsit. Mense autem Augusti miraculum justitia sua dignum Dei splendor exhibuit. Duos namque qui monachis avulsis ecclesias Dei converterant in castella similiter peccantes simili pœna mulctavit. Robertus namque Marmiun, vir bellicosus, hoc in ecclesia de Coventre perversus exegerat. Porro Gaufridus de Magnavilla (ut diximus) in ecclesia Ramesiensi scelus idem patraverat. Insurgens igitur Robertus Marmiun in hostes inter ingentes suorum cuneos coram ipso monasterio solus interfectus est, et excommunicatus morte depascitur æterna. Similiter Gaufridus consul inter acies suorum confertas, a quodam vilissimo pedite solus sagitta percussus est, et ipse vulnus ridens, post dies tamen ex ipso vulnere excommunicatus occubuit. Ecce Dei laudabilis omnibus seculis prædicanda ejusdem sceleris eadem vindicta. Dum autem ecclesia illa pro castello teneretur, ebullivit sanguis e parietibus ecclesiæ et claustri adjacentis,

indignationem divinam manifestans, sceleratorum exterminationem denuncians. Quod multi quidem, et ego ipse oculis meis inspexi. Quia igitur improbi dicebant Deum dormire, excitatus est Deus, et in hoc signo et in significato. Eodem quippe anno et Ernulfus filius consulis, qui post mortem patris ecclesiam incastellatam retinebat, captus est, et per hoc exulatus; et princeps militum suorum in hospitio suo ab equo corruens effuso cerebro expiravit. Princeps autem peditum suorum, Reimerus nomine, cujus officium fuerat ecclesias frangere vel incendere, dum mare cum uxore sua transiret (ut multi perhibuerunt) navis immobilis facta est. Quod monstrum nautis stupentibus, sorte data rei causam inquirentibus, sors cecidit super Reimerum; quod cum ille nimirum totis contradiceret nisibus, secundo et tertio sors jactata in eum devenit. Positus igitur in scapha est, et uxor ejus et pecunia scelestissime acquisita, et statim navis cursu velocissimo ut prius fecerat pelagus sulcat, scapha vero cum nequissimis subita voragine circumducta in æternum absorpta est. Eodem anno, Celestino papa defuncto, Lucius substituitur.

Editions.

Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipui. Edited by Henry Savile. Lond. 1596. fol. Francofurti, 1601, fol. pp. 295—399. Henrici archidiaconi Huntindoniensis Historiarum libri octo.

Anglia Sacra (Edited by H. Wharton) pars secunda. Lond. 1691. fol. pp. 694—702. Henrici archidiaconi Huntingdoniensis epistola ad Walterum de Mundi Contemptu, sive de episcopis et viris illustribus sui temporis.

Lucas d'Achery, Spicilegium, sive collectio veterum aliquot Scriptorum qui in Galliæ Bibliothecis delituerant, Tomus III. Parisiis, 1723, fol. pp. 503—507. Henrici Huntindonensis archidiaconi Lincolnensis exemplar tertiæ epistolæ de contemptu mundi per ea quæ ipsi vidimus hoc est. In the first edition it was printed in tom. viii. p. 178.

Collection of Historians edited by order of the Record Commission, vol. i. pp. 689—763, Henrici archidiaconi Huntindunensis Historiæ Anglorum, libri octo, ab anno scilicet A.C. LX. adusque A.D. M.C.LIV. Books 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6.

WILLIAM DE CONCHES.

This writer's claims to a place in our volume are very slight. He is said to have been born at the little town of

Conches in Normandy, about the year 1080.* It is certain that he was a native of Normandy, and that he taught with considerable success at Paris, but there appears no authority beyond Tanner and Bale for stating that he studied in England. Among his disciples were the celebrated John of Salisbury, who must have attended his school subsequently to 1136, and Henry count of Anjou, afterwards Henry II. of England, who can hardly have been his scholar before 1144. It appears from Alberic des Troisfontaines that he was still alive in 1154.

William de Conches appears to have been chiefly celebrated as a grammarian, for John of Salisbury, his disciple, mentions him more than once with the title of *grammaticus* ;† yet nearly all his works relate to natural philosophy. The writer just quoted informs us that William was a great opponent of the Cornificiens, a sect of his time who decried the use of method in treating of philosophy. His most popular work was written in the form of a dialogue between himself and his princely scholar count Henry, to whom it is dedicated in a short preface. Many copies of this tract, which generally bears the simple title of *Philosophia,* are preserved.‡ In the preface the author complains of the degraded state of the schools and of the church, and of the double neglect of learning and justice.

Quod igitur omnes fere contemporanei nostri sine his duobus officium docendi aggrediuntur, causa est quare minus sibi credatur. Discipuli etiam culpa non carent, qui relicta Pitagoricæ doctrinæ forma, qua constitutum erat discipulum vij. annis audire et credere, octavo demum anno interrogare, ex quo scholas intrant antequam sedeant interrogant, imo, quod deterius

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* Hist. Lit. de France, vol. xii, p. 455. The English bibliographers have very erroneously considered his name as a Latin translation of *Shelley*.

† John of Salisbury speaks of him in the Metalog. lib. i. c. 5, lib. ii. c. 10, and lib. iii. c. 10.

‡ A good copy of it will be found in the British Museum, MS. Arundel, No. 377, fol. 104.

est, judicant; unius vero anni spacio negligenter studentes, totam sapientiam sibi cessisse putantes, arreptis ab ea panniculis, vento garrulitatis et superbiæ pleni, pondere rerum vacui abeunt, et cum a suis parentibus et ab aliis audiuntur, in verbis eorum parum aut nihil utilitatis perpenditur, statimque quod a magistris acceperint hoc solum creditur, unde magistri auctoritas minuitur. Prælati etiam sed maxime episcopi non sunt extra culpam, qui quæ sua sunt non quæ Jhesu Christi quærentes, ut sine omni conditione bona ecclesiaram detrahunt, sapientes et nobiles ab ecclesiis suis excludunt, et, ne locus vacuus remaneat, insipientes ignobiles umbras clericorum non clericos includunt. Inde fit ut qui in scientia si studerent proficere possent, intelligentes se nihil inde aliud quam odium et invidiam adquirere, episcopos divitem archam non divitem animum quærere, diversum iter vitæ ingredientes, lucris et quæstibus inhiant.

He proceeds to state that he places his hopes of reformation in Henry and his children. One of the earliest works of William de Conches appears to have been his treatise *De elementis philosophiæ*, in four books, which was inserted by mistake among the works of Bede in the old printed editions. In this book he begins with the creation of the Universe, and treats nearly the whole range of natural philosophy with so much freedom of opinion that it gave great offence to the clergy, and was violently attacked by Guillaume de S. Thierry.* In a subsequent tract, entitled *Dragmaticon philosophiæ*, William retracted his errors, which he lays to the charge of his youth when he composed the obnoxious work. His other works are a treatise on the nature of man, entitled *Secunda philosophia*,* and another on cosmography, entitled *Tertia philosophia;* and one or two other similar books. He also wrote a commentary on Boethius *De Consolatione*, of which there is a copy in the library of Jesus College, Oxford.

Editions.

Tanner mentions a work by William de Conches, entitled *Opus historicum*

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* A detailed abstract of this work is given in the Hist. Lit. de Fr. as cited above.

† There is a copy of this in a MS. in the Royal Library at Paris.

de operibus sex dierum, printed in fol. about the year 1473, of which a copy was in Baliol College, Oxford.

De naturis superioribus et inferioribus. An edition of a work of William de Conches under this title was printed about the year 1474.

Dragmaticon Philosophiæ. Strasburg, 1566. 8vo.

Venerabilis Bedæ Opera. The treatise De Elementis Philosophiæ is inserted in the second volume of the editions of Basil and Cologne.

HUGO CANDIDUS.

Hugo, known as one of the best of our early local historians, has left us but few notices of his own life, and we know nothing of him from other sources. It is even uncertain why he received the epithet of *Candidus:* some asserting that it was the candour of his manners, or the veracity of his history, which obtained for him that appellative, while others attribute it to the paleness of his face. It is but a vulgar error to call him Hugh Whyte, as Leland has done. Hugo, with his brother Remaldus, was placed in the abbey of Peterborough at a tender age. He tells us that he was a child there under abbot Ernulph, who ruled that house from 1107 to 1114. Both appear to have been Normans. Hugo was present at the fire which burnt the church in 1117; and was one of the witnesses when the right arm of St. Oswald was shown to Alexander bishop of Lincoln, which, according to Hugo's own calculation, occurred in 1130. In the time of abbot Martin he was appointed subprior, and he died early in the abbacy of William de Waterville, who was elected in 1155, and deposed in 1175.* Hugo's history of the monastery of Peterborough is preserved in a volume in the archives of the cathedral, known by the title of *Liber Swaffham*. It commences with the foundation of the monastery, and ends after the election of William de

* A more detailed dissertation on the different points of Hugo's personal history will be found in the preface to Gunton's History of Peterborough.

Waterville, which event probably its author did not long survive. He has preserved a few interesting historical notices which are not found elsewhere; but his style has nothing to distinguish it from that of the common monastic chronicles. He appears to have used local authorities, some of which are lost; but there can be no doubt he took many of his details from the Peterborough copy of the Saxon Chronicle, and in one instance at least he has mistranslated a Saxon word in his original.* That he was not a good English etymologist will appear by the following account of the site of his monastery:

Burch vero in regione Gyrviorum est fundatus, quia ibi incipit eadem palus in orientali parte, quæ per milliaria sexaginta vel amplius durat. Est autem eadem palus hominibus permaxime necessaria, quia ibi accipiuntur ligna et stipula ad ignem, et fœnum ad pabula jumentorum, et coopertorium ad domos cooperiendas, et plurima alia necessaria et utilia; et est ferax avium et piscosa. Sunt enim ibi diversi amnes, et plurimæ aquæ, et maxima stagna piscina; estque regio in hiis rebus abundantissima. Idem autem Burch in optimo loco est constructus; quia in una parte palude et aquis optimis, in alia vero terris, sylvis, pratis, et pascuis plurimis honoratur; estque ex omni parte formosus, et per terram accessibilis, præter ad orientalem plagam, per quam nisi navigio non venitur. Præterfluit etiam juxta monasterium amnis Nen

* The passage referred to is the account of the marvels seen on the arrival of abbot Henry, thus related in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1127. Swa radlice swa Henri abbat þær com.. þa son þær æfter þa sægon ⁊ hærdon fela men feole huntes hunten. þa huntes wæron swarte ⁊ micele ⁊ ladlice, ⁊ here hundes ealle swarte ⁊ brad-egede ⁊ ladlice; ⁊ hi ridone on swarte hors ⁊ on swarte *bucces*. þes wæs segen on the selve der-fald in þa tune on Burch, ⁊ on ealle þa wudes þa wæron fram þa selve tune to Stanforde; ⁊ þe muneces herdon þa horn blawen ꝥ hi blewen on nihtes. Soðfeste men heom kepten on nihtes, sæidon þes þe heom þuhte ꝥ þær mihte wel ben abuton twenti oðe þritti horn blaweres. Hugo's account is clearly taken from this:—Eodem anno cum venisset ad abbatiam visa sunt et audita monstra per totam quadragesimam, et hoc noctibus, et per sylvas et per plana a monasterio usque ad Stanford. Nam visi sunt quasi venatores cum cornibus et canibus, sed omnes nigerrimi erant, et equi eorum et canes, et aliqui quasi hædos equitantes, et oculos grandes habebant. Et erant quasi viginti aut triginta simul. Hoc non est falsum, quia plurimi veracissimi homines viderunt et audierunt cornua. Hugo has translated *bucces* by *hædos* instead of *cervos;* an easy mistake for a Norman, who had in his mind the word *boucs*. It is very similar to his rendering *cruland* by *cruda terra*, instead of *terra corvorum*.

in australi parte, quo transmeato liberum habet ire quo quisque vult continuo. In hujus amnis medio est locus quasi quædam vorago, qui tam profundus et frigidus est, ut in media æstate, cum solis calor camino videtur esse ferventior, nullus natantium ejus ima adire possit, nec tamen unquam in hyeme gelatur. Est enim ibi fons, ut dicunt, unde ebullit aqua. Hunc locum Medesuuelle antiqui appellarunt, a quo primi fundatores ipsius monasterii, quia juxta monasterium est, Medeshamstede vocaverunt. Nam sicut Ely a copia anguillarum quæ in paludibus et in aquis capiuntur, et Thorneya propter spineta ibi succrescentia, et Crulandia propter crudam terram, sunt dictæ, ita Medeshamstede ab illo loco, sicut diximus, nuncupabatur. Sed restauratores ipsius, sicut infra dicemus, eum melius Burch vocaverunt. Hunc igitur locum videntes primi fundatores ipsius tam egregium, tam perspicuum, tam amœnum, tam aptum, atque fertilissimum et jocundissimum, omnibusque rebus uberrimum et formosissimum, et quasi paradisum in terris sibi a Deo oblatum, monasterium ibi fundaverunt.

An abridged translation of Hugo's history into Anglo-Norman verse has been preserved, and will be found in Sparke's collection, where Hugo's own work is printed. It has been supposed, on very slight grounds, that Hugo or his brother Remaldus wrote the contemporary part of the Peterborough copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

Edition.

Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores varii, e Codicibus Manuscriptis nunc primum editi (by Joseph Sparke). Londini, 1723, fol. Historiæ Cœnobii Burgensis Scriptores varii. pp. 1—94, Hugonis Candidi Cœnobii Burgensis Historia.

MINOR WRITERS UNDER STEPHEN.

Among the minor biographers, or rather writers of saints' legends, of this reign, were Geoffrey of Burton and Robert of Salop. The former is said to have been first a monk of Winchester, of which he was made prior in 1111, and from whence he was removed in 1114 to be made abbot of Burton-upon-Trent. He held this office till his

death, which happened on the 2nd of August, 1151.* The only work which it seems certain that abbot Geoffrey wrote was a life of St. Modwen, the patron saint of his house, for which, as he stated in his preface, he had procured the materials from Ireland. The life of St. Modwen, in a manuscript of the twelfth century in the Cottonian Library, (Cleop. A. II.) bears in an old hand the title, *Vita Modwennæ virginis Hibernicæ, per Gulielmum Edys Burtonensem monachum.* A later hand attributes it to Geoffrey; but it is distinctly stated in the text to have been written by an Irishman named Concubranus, of whom nothing further is known. The book itself is of little value; no copy appears now to exist with Geoffrey's preface. Perhaps he only procured a copy of the book of Concubranus from Ireland, and added a preface to it for the use of his English monks.

We are totally ignorant of the personal history of ROBERT OF SALOP. He composed a life of St. Winifred, which he dedicated to Guarin, abbot of Worcester, who appears to have died in 1140. A copy of this book, which contains some curious legendary history, exists in MS. Cotton. Claudius A.v., and has been printed. Bale represents this writer as flourishing in 1140. He can hardly be, as Tanner seems to suspect, the Robert of Salop who was bishop of Bangor in 1210.

Edition.

The life of St. Winifred is said to have been printed in 1633, but perhaps it has been confounded with the English translation printed in 1635.

Translation.

The admirable life of Saint Wenefride, Virgin, Martyr, Abbesse. Written in Latin above 500 years ago, by Robert, Monke and Priour of Shrewsbury, of the Ven. Order of S. Benedict. Devided into two bookes. And now translated into English, out of a very ancient and authenticall

* See Tanner, and Wharton, Angl. Sac. vol. i. p. 324.

manuscript, for the edification and comfort of Catholikes. By J. F. of the Society of Jesus. Permissu Superiorū, M.DC. XXXV. 12mo. This volume was reprinted in 1712, and this new Edition republished with observations by Bishop Fleetwood, in his "Life and Miracles of St. Wenefrede, together with her Litanies, and some historical observations made thereon." 8vo. London, 1713.

About this time lived a monk named NICHOLAS, said to have been prior (not abbot) of St. Alban's, and to have written a treatise *De Conceptione Virginis*. Tanner supposed he was the same person as Nicholas prior of Wallingford (a cell to St. Alban's), who is known as the writer of a book on the life and miracles of St. Edmund the martyr, which, however, is not extant. Among the manuscripts of the monastery of Peterborough there was an "Epistle of Nicholas, prior of St. Alban's, to Maurice the monk."* Bale states that he flourished in 1140.

WILLIAM OF RIEVAUX, a monk of Rushford, compiled about this time a history of England, which he dedicated to Ailred, abbot of Rievaux, and which is mentioned by Higden in his introduction to the Polychronicon. Bale says that he died in 1146; while Pits places his death in 1160.

RICHARD OF WORCESTER, a Latin poet of this age, who appears to have been a monk of Winchester, is known to us only by the following lines on the death of Henry I. preserved in a nearly contemporary manuscript.†

Ricardi Uuigornensis.

Clerus pastore, monachus patre, plebs monitore,
Proh dolor! urbs Wenta solito viduatur honore.
Nam tua dum viguit terris, Henrice, potestas,
Uuintoniæ fraus nulla fuit, regnavit honestas.

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* See Gunton, Hist. of Peterb. p. 201.

† MS. Reg. 6 A. VI. fol. 109, v°. in the British Museum.

Nunc pro morte tua flet civis, plorat arator,
Justitiæ cultor, cum milite juris amator.
Deflet Normannus, cum Francigena, Cenomannis,
Sed magis est Anglis et erit dolor omnibus annis.
Lex Ciceronem, jusque Catonem, fasque Varonem,
Plangite tam dignum, sapientem, tamque benignum.
Nobilitas, mores, prudentia, laus, et honores,
Flete virum magnum, fortem, mitem velut agnum.
Moribus ornatum, virtutum flore beatum,
Extitit et morum decus et diadema bonorum.
Clara stirpe satus, speculo vitæ decoratus,
Præcluis in sensu, preclarus divite censu;
Vir pius ac mitis, florescens utpote vitis
Quæ non marescit, ut adhuc bona fama patescit.
Laude virens clara, quia Christus mentis in ara
Affuit in vita dum nobilis hic cœnobita.
Non in eo fuerat crimen sed mens Salomonis;
Non mens perfidiæ torvi sed posse Neronis;
Non Paridis mala fama fuit sed forma venusta;
Hectoris et virtus, oratio pro grege justa.
Ergo jure dolet Uuintonia, nam sua jura
Nunc in morte viri tam magni sunt peritura.
Si prece vel pretio magno redimi potuisset,
Hæc sibi continuo pia concio nostra dedisset.
Omnibus Henrico cœnobitis semper amico
Sit prece justorum requies super astra polorum,
Pastor ut indemnis maneat sine fine perennis.

SECTION IV.—THE REIGN OF HENRY II.

ROBERT LE POULE.

ONE of the most distinguished literary men of the beginning of the reign of Henry II. was Robert, named in Latin *Robertus Pullus*,* which would be the translation of Robert le Poule, or Robert the chicken. We have no information as to the place of his birth, but there can be little doubt that he studied in Paris, from whence he came to Exeter, probably early in the reign of Stephen. From Exeter he removed to Oxford, where he lectured on the Scriptures, which had fallen into neglect in the schools, and preached on Sundays to the people during five years.† One of his hearers was the celebrated John of Salisbury. In 1141, or soon after, he was invited to Rome by pope Innocent II., where in 1144 he was made a cardinal by Celestine II., and he was subsequently made chancellor of the church of Rome by Lucius II. (pope from 1144 to to 1145). He is stated to have been likewise archdeacon of Rochester. The date of his death is quite uncertain; Tanner says he flourished in 1150, and he belongs perhaps with more propriety to the reign of Stephen than to that of Henry II.

Robert's principal work was a sort of compendium of

* Tanner and Leland call him Polenius, Polenus, Pullus, Pulcy, Pollen, Bullen. *Pullus* is the only form for which there is good authority.

† For these facts we have the authority of an anonymous continuator of Bede. Venit magister Robertus cognomento Pullus de civitate Exonia Oxefordam, ibique scripturas divinas, quæ per idem tempus in Anglia obsoluerant, præ scholasticis quippe neglectæ fuerant, per quinquennium legit, omnique die dominico verbum Dei populo prædicavit, ex cujus doctrina plurimi profecerunt.

the doctrines and practice of the church, in eight books, published under the title of *Sententiæ,* or *Libri Sententiarum,* or *Sententiæ de Trinitate.* There is a good copy of this book in the British Museum. It exhibits great learning in the theology of that age. The following account of Elijah and Enoch, taken from the twelfth chapter of the eighth book, will serve as a specimen of Robert's style, and is illustrative of a curious legend prevalent during the Middle Ages.

Helias et Enoc, alter post diluvium alter ante, in paradisum assumpti sunt, expectantes ut quemadmodum Johannes Salvatoris antecessit et demonstravit adventum ita et ipsi judicis adventum suo præconatu circa finem mundi annuntient, quatenus omnes primo contra Antichristi conflictum postmodum contra judicium præparati festinent. Hi duo quoniam absque cibi et potus sustentatione, tamen neque esuriunt neque sitiunt, imo quoniam eos nulla omnino molestia attingit, multo melius creduntur habere quam nos, multoque minus quam habituri sunt. Habent nimirum felicitatem tanto loco condignam, sed sperant in cœlo longe pretiosiorem. Hi juxta prædicationem Christi triennio pauloque amplius verbo Dei insistentes creduntur reducturi corda filiorum ad patres, id est, Judæorum ad fidem patriarcharum, et confirmaturi et præmunituri ecclesiam Dei contra jam jamque venturam mundi immutationem. Nimirum tunc Judæos post longam captivitatem ab undique ad terram suam traditio est redituros, nisi verbum fidei audient atque suscipient, ubi ab Antichristo, ibidem sedem regni usurpaturo, tormenta tanquam boni athletæ Christi fortiter sustinebunt. Interim autem male habebit gens illa, misericordiam tandem consecutura ...... Inter primos autem Helyas et Enoc peracto officii suo curriculo ab Antichristo, tanquam rationibus suis incommodi, interficientur, et in plateis jacentes sepeliri probibebuntur, ne qua fiducia sit resurrectionis quam prædicaverant, ne qua illorum imitatio sit aut in doctrina aut in vita. Quos miseros universi cernant. Post mortem autem illorum, quæ futura circa initium æstimatur regni Antichristi, in sua pace circa tres annos et dimidium, subjugato prius sibi variis modis mundo, regnaturus putatur.

Twenty sermons by this writer are preserved in a manuscript at Lambeth; a comment on some parts of the book of Psalms follows the *Sententiæ* in the manuscript in the

* MS. Reg. 10 B. V. Incipiunt Sententiæ magistri Roberti Pulli, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ presbyteri, cardinalis, et cancellarii. There was an early MS. of this work in the library of the abbey of S. Germain-des-Prés at Paris, from which some extracts were printed by Jo. Morinus, De Disciplina Pœnitentiæ, p. 44.

British Museum; and he is said to have written also a commentary on the Apocalypse, a treatise on the contempt of the world, and another on the sayings of the learned men *(super doctorum dictis)*.

Edition.

Roberti Pulli Sententiæ, edited by Hugo Mathout, Paris, 1655, fol.

RICHARD AND JOHN, PRIORS OF HEXHAM.

Two successive priors of Hexham, in Northumberland, distinguished themselves as writers during the earlier part of the reign of Henry II. Richard of Hexham is said to have been made prior of his house in 1143, which is all we know of his personal history. He compiled a short history of the last two years of the reign of Henry I. and of the more remarkable events of that of Stephen, especially of the celebrated battle of the Standard, which was then a memorable event in the history of his native district. His other work is a history of the church of Hexham, from its foundation to the time of archbishop Thurstan. Tanner also attributes to Richard of Hexham a history of the reign of Henry II. commencing with the words, *Anno igitur Dom. incarnat, Mclvi.*, and a brief chronicle from the beginning of the world to the time of the emperor Henry V. The only reason, however, for attributing to him the last-mentioned tract appears to be the circumstance of its following one of his writings in the manuscript from which Twysden printed them.

John of Hexham occurs as abbot in 1170. He wrote a continuation of the history of Simeon of Durham from

1130 to 1154. The other two books attributed to him by Bale, *De Signis et Cometis,* and *Descriptio belli Scotici,* are only parts of his continuation of Simeon. Bale also ascribes to prior John *Conciones aliquot.*

The works of these two writers are of small extent, and have little merit, except so far as they contain some historical notices peculiar to themselves. Their style is that of the ordinary Latin writers of the age in which they lived, as will be seen by the following passage of John of Hexham's continuation of Simeon of Durham, describing the remarkable natural phenomena which had been observed on the 2nd of August, 1133.

Cum igitur rex prædictus Henricus circa maris litus transfretandi causa moraretur, vento persæpe ad transfretandum existente secundo, tandem die præfato circa meridiem cum ad mare transiturus perrexisset, suorum, ut mos est regibus, constipatus militum turmis, subito in aere nubes apparuit, quæ tamen ejusdem quantitatis per universam Angliam non comparuit. In quibusdam enim locis quasi dies obscurus videbatur, in quibusdam vero tantæ obscuritatis erat ut lumine candelæ ad quodlibet agendum ipsa protecti homines indigerent. Unde rex latusque regium ambientes et alii quamplures mirantes, et in cœlum oculos levantes, solem ad instar novæ lunæ lucere conspexerunt, qui tamen non diu se uno modo habebat, nam aliquando latior, aliquando subtilior, quandoque incurvior, quandoque erectior, nunc solito modo firmus, modo movens et admodum vivi argenti motus et liquidus videbatur. Asserunt quidam ecclipsim solis factam fuisse; quod si verum est, tunc sol erat in capite draconis et luna in cauda, vel sol in cauda et luna in capite in v. signo, id est leone, in xvii. gradu ipsius signi. Erat autem tunc luna in xxvii. Eodem etiam die et eadem hora stellæ plurimæ apparuere. Necnon die eodem cum naves ad prædicti regis transitum paratæ in litore anchoris firmarentur, mari pacatissimo ventoque modico persistente, cujusdam navis magnæ anchoræ a terra quasi vi aliqua avulsæ sunt, navisque commota nultis mirantibus eamque tenere nitentibus nec valentibus, sibi proximam navim commovit, et sic octo naves vi ignota commotæ sunt, ut nulla illarum illæsa remansisset.

Edition.

Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X.... ex vetustis manuscriptis nunc primum in lucem editi. [by Twysden] coll. 257–282, Incipit Historia Johannis prioris Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ xxv. annorum. coll. 285–308, Ricardus prior Hagustaldensis, de statu et episcopis Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ. coll. 309—330, Incipit Historia piæ memoriæ Ricardi prioris Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ de Gestis regis Stephani et de Bello Standardii.

ROBERT OF CRICKLADE.

Leland and Wood call this writer *Robertus Canutus*, but it does not appear on what authority. He names himself *of Cricklade*, of which place he was probably a native, and he says that he was prior of Oxford.* Wood states that he was made prior of St. Frideswide's in 1141, and pretends that he was *rector of the schools*. He occurs in a document as prior of St. Frideswide's at Oxford in 1159. He enjoyed the favour of Henry II., for whose use he compiled an abridgment of the Natural History of Pliny the Elder, which he comprised in nine books. A copy of this work is preserved in the British Museum,† with the following dedication to the king, which will serve as an example of his style:

Tibi, illustrissime rex Anglorum Henrice, ego tuus famulus Rodbertus hoc opus dedicavi, quod de Naturalis Historiæ Plinii Secundi libris triginta septem quasi ex immenso pelago ingenioli mei sagena extraxi, reputans mecum incongruum valde fore de tot et tantarum regionum dominum et rectorem ignorare partes orbis cujus non minimæ parti dominaris. Siquidem notum est quia cum sis in bellicis negotiis invictissimus, parto otio non minus es in litterali scientia studiosus. In hoc igitur opusculo cognosces, si legere dignaberis, fluxus et refluxus oceani circumgirantis et irrumpantis terram, diversitates populorum et mores eorum, ferocias bestiarum et impetus ferarum, naturas animalium et volucrum, pisciumque et reptilium, et alia mira quæ duce natura vel contra naturam fiunt in cœlo sursum, sive in terra deorsum, in singulis quoque elementis. Postremo arborum et herbarum vires, et cætera quæ ex animantibus ad morborum remedia pertinent, lapidum quoque plurimorum gemmarumque nomina et virtutes. Capitula vero singulorum librorum prænotavi, ut cum tibi placuerit, quidpiam horum ad memoriam reducere, sive aliis manifestare, prænotato numero citius occurrat. Salus et sanitas tibi proveniat hic et in æternum. Amen.

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* Studiosis et præcipue claustralibus et scholasticis Rodbertus Krikelandensis prior Oxinefordiæ non superbe sapere sed tramitem disciplinæ humiliter percurrere. Proœm. in Deflorat. Plin.

† MS. Reg. 15 C. XIV.

The other works of this writer are, a treatise *De connubio Jacob,* dedicated to a person (apparently an abbot) named Laurence; another treatise in four books entitled the Mirror of Faith *(Speculum Fidei)*; and forty-one homilies "on the last part of Ezechiel, where pope Gregory ended," dedicated to a canon or prior named Reginald. A manuscript of the first of these works is preserved in Baliol College, Oxford; and one of the last in Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. Various commentaries on different parts of the Holy Scriptures are also ascribed to Robert of Cricklade, by Bale and others, but they are of doubtful authority.

AILRED OF RIEVAUX.

THE name of this eminent writer, which was properly Ethelred, is variously spelt in old manuscripts Ailred, Aelred, Alred, Ealred, Alured, &c. Ailred,* the most usual form, appears to be merely a north-country abbreviation of Ethelred. He was born in 1109, and was educated in company with Henry son of David king of Scotland, whose friendship, as well as that of his father, he continued long to enjoy, and the latter would have raised him to a bishopric, but he preferred entering himself as a Cistercian monk in the abbey of Rievaux in the north riding of Yorkshire. Here his virtues and abilities were soon acknowledged by his fellow-monks, and he was made master of the novices. His monkish biographer tells us that his

* The name is spelt thus in the early catalogue of the library of the abbey of Rievaux, printed in the Reliquiæ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 18. An early anonymous life of Ailred is printed in Capgrave, and reprinted in the Acta Sanctorum Januarii, vol. i. p. 749.

extraordinary sanctity was exhibited by miracles which he performed almost in his childhood.

After remaining some time at Rievaux, Ailred was removed to be made abbot of the monastery of Revesby in Lincolnshire, which was a more recent foundation of the Cistercian order.* It is probable that he did not long hold this office, for he was chosen abbot of Rievaux in 1146,† in the reign of king Stephen, and he appears to have long enjoyed the favour of Henry II., to whom he dedicated one of his writings before Henry's accession to the English throne. In 1156, according to John of Peterborough, Ailred wrote his "Epitaph of the kings of Scotland," ‡ a work which appears now to be lost. In 1162 he exerted his influence with the king so as to be chiefly instrumental in procuring a reconciliation between him and the pope.§ It was probably about this time that he attended the chapter of his order at Citeaux. Reginald of Durham, who received the story from Ailred's mouth,|| informs us that he employed himself on the way to Citeaux in composing a rythmical prose in honour of St. Cuthbert, whom he respected above all the other saints; but he laid aside his unfinished work on his arrival, and he appears to have

* There is no reason for doubting this fact: the anonymous biographer, Act. Sanct. p. 749, distinctly states that he was abbot of Revesby, previous to being elected abbot of Rievaux, and John of Peterborough, as quoted in the note below, makes the same assertion. The list of the earlier abbots of Revesby is very imperfect.

† See John of Hexham, ap. Decem Scriptores, col. 274.

‡ Sanctus Alredus abbas Rievallensis ex abbate Revesbyensi Epitaphium regum Scotorum scripsit. Chron. Joh. abbatis S. Petri de Burgo, Ed. Sparke, p. 78.

§ Rex Henricus honorifice recepit papam Alexandrum versus Gallias venientem, inductus ad ejus obedientiam per literas Arnulphi episcopi Luxoviensis, et maxime viva voce sancti Alredi abbatis Ryevalliæ. Chron. Jo. ab. S. Petr. p. 79.

|| Hæc dominus Rievallensis nobis quam sæpius retulit, qui veridicus testis et relator de his subsistit. Reg. Dunelm. p. 177.

forgotten it entirely during his journey to the coast, on his return in company with the other English abbots of his order. They found the sea raging with tempest, which kept them in anxious suspense during fifteen days, when at length Ailred suddenly bethought him of his prose in honour of his favourite saint, which he recommenced, and the sea became calm and propitious the moment it was finished. "Christ," says Reginald, "willed thus to declare the power of St. Cuthbert, when he chose to calm the troubled sea for the prayer of none other of the saints to whose help they committed themselves." An anecdote like this, more than any other circumstance, exhibits the weak superstition which obscured Ailred's piety. His rules for the government and behaviour of nuns furnish a singular picture of the austerity of his disposition, for he there condemns the indulgence of the most innocent affections which are natural to their sex, as in the following passage where he forbids the society of little children:

> Pueris et puellis nullum ad te concedas accessum. Sunt quædam inclusæ quæ in docendis puellis occupantur, et cellam suam vertunt in scholam : illa sedet ad fenestram, istæ in porticu resident, illa intuetur singulas, et inter puellares motus nunc irascitur, nunc ridet, nunc minatur, nunc percutit, nunc blanditur, nunc osculatur, nunc flentem vocat pro verbere propius, palpat faciem, stringit collum, et in amplexum ruens nunc filiam vocat, nunc amicam. Qualiter inter hæc memoria Dei, ubi sæcularia et carnalia, etsi non perficiantur, moventur tamen, et quasi sub oculis depinguntur?

Reginald of Durham tells us that at this time Ailred was enfeebled by disease; and we know from another source that during the last ten years of his life he suffered from the combined evils of the stone and the gout.* Yet these appear to have placed little restraint upon his activity. In 1163 he was present in the abbey of Westminster at the translation of the relics of Edward the Confessor, pro-

* Licet enim calculo et arthritica passione ante obitum per decennium vexatus fuisset. Vita ap. Capgrave.

cured by abbot Laurence and celebrated by Thomas Becket; and on that occasion he offered the Life of king Edward (one of the most celebrated of his works) and a homily in his praise on the text *Nemo accendit lucernam.** In the following year, A. D. 1164, Ailred made an excursion to the south-west of Scotland, for the purpose of civilizing the half-savage Pictish population of Galloway, and visited Kirdcudbright on the 20th of March, the festival of his favourite saint.† Ailred died on the 12th of January, 1166, at the age of fifty-seven.‡ He was canonised in 1191.§ In Leland's time his tomb was still shown in the church of Rievaux, adorned sumptuously with gold and silver.

Ailred obtained the honour of canonization by the extreme austerity of his life. He raised the reputation and increased the riches of his abbey of Rievaux, which at his death consisted of a hundred and eighty monks and fifty lay-brethren. His early biographer tells us that he read much, and that he was particularly attached to the works of St. Augustine, whose style and sentiments he seems to have aimed at imitating. Ailred's writings exhibit no great share of learning or literary taste; but, amid his superstitious weakness, there is a warmth and earnestness of piety which we find in few of his contemporaries. The

* Translatio sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris, procurata per Laurentium ex priore Dunelmensi Westmonasterii abbatem, celebrata est per sanctum Thomam archiepiscopum Cantuariensem. Sanctus Alredus abbas huic translationi interfuit, offerens Vitam regis et Omeliam super Nemo accendit lucernam, etc. ad laudem ejusdem sancti mirifice dictatam. Chron. Jo. ab. S. Petri de Burgo, ap. Sparke, p. 79.

† Vita Ælr. ap. Capgrave, where will be found a striking picture of the barbarous manners of the people of Galloway. The dates and some incidents of the journey are given by Reginald of Durham, p. 178.

‡ Vita ap. Capgrave, in the Acta SS. Januarii, vol. i. p. 751. Chron. Joh. abb. S. Petri, p. 80, and Tanner.

§ Chron. Jo. ab. S. Petri de Burgo, p. 87.

following passage is taken from the seventh chapter of the Compendium Speculi Charitatis:

Quid enim suavius, quid gloriosius, quam mundi contemptu mundo se cernere celsiorem? Ac in bonæ conscientiæ vertice consistentem, totum mundum habere sub pedibus? nihil videre quod appetat, nullum quem metuat, nullum cui invideat; nihil, quod possit ab alio aufferri, suum esse; nihil, quod ab alio sibi possit inferri, malum esse; dumque in illam hæreditatem incorruptibilem, et incontaminatam, et immarcescibilem, conservatam in cœlis dirigit mentis obtutum, sæculares divitias quasi corruptibiles, carnales illecebras quasi contaminatas, omnes mundi pompas quasi marcescibiles, quadam mentis nobilitate contemnere, et in illud propheticum exultare: omnis caro fœnum, et omnis gloria ejus tanquam flos fœni; exsiccatum est fœnum et cecidet flos, verbum autem Domini manet in æternum? Quid rogo dulcius, quidve tranquillius, quam turbidis carnis motibus non agitari, carnalium incentivorum incendiis non aduri, ad nullum illecebrosum moveri aspectum; sed tepescentem rore pudicitiæ carnem spiritui habere substratam, non jam ad carnales voluptates illectricem, sed ad spiritualia exercitia obedientissimam adjutricem? Quid tandem divinæ tranquillitati tam proximum, quam illatis contumeliis non moveri, nullo supplicio, nullave persecutione terreri, unam mentis et in prosperis et in adversis habere constantiam; inimicum et amicum eodem oculo intueri; ad ejus se similitudinem conformare qui facit solem suum oriri super bonos et malos, et pluit super justos et injustos? Hæc simul omnia in caritate, et non nisi in caritate simul omnia; ac proinde in illa vera tranquillitas, vera suavitas; quia ipsa est jugum Domini, quam si Domino invitante tulerimus, inveniemus requiem animabus nostris, quia jugum Domini suave est et onus leve. Proinde cæteræ virtutes sunt nobis aut quasi fesso vehiculum, aut quasi viatori viaticum, aut quasi lucerna caligantibus, aut quasi arma pugnantibus; at caritas, quæ, licet ut aliæ virtutes sint, sit oportet in omnibus, specialius tamen ipsa et requies fatigato, et viatori mansio, et plena lux pervenienti, et perfecta corona victori.

As a historical writer, Ailred has little importance in comparison even with the ordinary chroniclers of his age, for he too generally prefers improbable legends to sober truth. We may give as an example the following account of the legendary consecration of the church of Westminster by the apostle St. Peter, taken from the life of Edward the Confessor; it will serve, with the passages already quoted, as a specimen of Ailred's style and language:

Nocte autem dedicationem ejusdem ecclesiæ præcedente, piscatori cuidam Thamesis fluvii, qui idem monasterium præterfluit, ulteriori ripa in habitu

peregrino B. Petrus apparens, promissa mercede, transponi se ab eodem et petiit et promeruit. Egressus autem de navicula, ecclesiam piscatore cernente ingreditur, et ecce subito lux cœlestis emicuit, miroque splendore illustrans omnia noctem convertit in diem. Adfuit cum apostolo multitudo civium supernorum ingredientium, melodiaque cœlestis insonuit, indicibilis odoris fragrantia nares perfundebat. Peractis autem omnibus quæ ad ecclesiæ dedicationem spectant solemniis, redit ad piscatorem piscium piscator egregius hominum; quem dum divini luminis fulgore perterritum et alienatum pene sensibus reperisset, blanda consolatione reddit hominem sibi, animum rationi. Ingredientes cymbam simul uterque piscator, ait Petrus: Numquid pulmentarium non habes? Et ille, Inconsuetæ, inquit, lucis perfusione stupidus et expectatione tui detentus, nihil cepi, sed promissam a te mercedem securus expectavi. Ad hæc apostolus ait: Laxa nunc retia in capturam. Paruit imperanti piscator, et mox implevit rete piscium maxima multitudo. Omnes erant ejusdem generis pisces, præter unum miræ enormitatis esocium. Quibus ad ripam extractis, dixit apostolus: Hunc qui præ cæteris pretio et magnitudine præcellit, Mellito ex mea parte defer piscem episcopo. Pro nautica vero mercede cætera tibi tolle. Hujus generis copia abundabis in vita tua, et longo tempore post te progenies tua: tantum ne ultra piscari audeatis in celebritate dominica. Ego sum Petrus qui loquor tecum, qui cum meis concivibus constructam in meo nomine basilicam dedicavi, episcopalemque benedictionem meæ sanctificationis auctoritate præveni. Dic ergo pontifici quæ vidisti et audisti, tuoque sermoni signa parietibus impressa testimonium perhibebunt .... His dictis confestim ab oculis ejus disparuit.

Ailred's historical writings are not very numerous. They consist of,—

1. The Life of Edward the Confessor, which has been frequently printed.

2. An account of the battle of the Standard, printed by Twysden.

3. A work entitled in the old catalogue of Rievaux, *De generositate et moribus et morte regis David*, which also has been printed by Twysden, who gives it the title, *Genealogia regum Anglorum*. This book, dedicated to Henry II. before his accession to the throne, begins with an account of David king of Scotland, which is followed by a brief history of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman kings. The old bibliographers have made more than one book out of this tract.

4. The Life of St. Margaret, queen of Scotland, which is only preserved in an abridged form.

5. The Story of a nun of Watton in Yorkshire, who was seduced and afterwards repented. This tract is printed in Twysden.

6, 7. The early catalogue of the Library of Rievaux, printed in the Reliquiæ Antiquæ,* enumerates among Ailred's writings a *Vita Sancti Niniani Episcopi*, and a treatise *De Miraculis Hagustaldensis Ecclesiæ*. The life of St. Ninianus was formerly in MS. Cotton. Tiberius D. III. now nearly destroyed. The miracles of the church of Hexham are preserved in the Bodleian Library.† John of Peterborough, under the date 1153, observes, "Here ends the chronicle of Ailred."‡

Ailred's theological writings are more numerous, and consist of,

8. Thirty-three homilies or sermons *De Onere Babylonis*, on the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters of Isaiah, addressed to Gilbert bishop of London, and therefore written after 1161.

9. The *Speculum Charitatis*, or mirror of divine love.

10. A *Compendium Speculi Charitatis*.

11. A dialogue *De Spirituali Amicitia*, the plan of which arose from the perusal of the treatise *De Amicitia* of Cicero.

12. A tract on the words of the Evangelist, *cum factus esset Jesus annorum duodecim*, which is sometimes entitled *De duodecimo anno Christi*. This work and the four preceding were collected and printed at Douai early in the seventeenth century by Richard Gibbons, a Jesuit, and were reprinted in the Bibliotheca Patrum.

* Vol. ii. p. 182.

† MS. Laud, F. 15.

‡ Hic finit chronica Alredi. Chron. Jo. ab. S. Petri, p. 77.

13. *Liber de Institutione Inclusarum*, or the Rule of Nuns. This, being found without the name of the author, was printed among the works of St. Augustine, but it was given under Ailred's name in the collection of monastic rules published by Lucas Holstenius. It is enumerated among Ailred's works in the early catalogue of the Rievaux Library.

14. Ailred wrote a considerable number of homilies and sermons, some of which have been printed. Thirty-two of his sermons are intermixed with those of St. Bernard in a manuscript at Lambeth,* and twenty-five inedited sermons of the same writer were printed in the Bibliotheca Cisterciensium.

15. A large collection of epistles by Ailred appear to be entirely lost.

16. His dialogue *De Natura Animæ* is preserved in the Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. Mus. 52.†

17. The old catalogue of Rievaux mentions a work by Ailred entitled *Fasciculus Frondium*.

Titles of other works ascribed to Ailred are given by Tanner, from Bale and others, most of which appear to be either titles of single homilies, or given wrongly under his name. His rythmical prose in honour of St. Cuthbert, as well as his "Epitaph on the Kings of Scotland" is lost, unless the latter be the prosaic *Chronicon Rythmicum* printed at the end of the Chronicon of Mailros, in the edition by Mr. Stevenson. Among the manuscripts of Caius College, Cambridge, according to Tanner, there is a version of the Life of St. Edward in Leonine Latin Elegiacs, ascribed to Ailred, and commencing with the line,—

Cum tibi, Laurenti, cogor parere jubenti.

* See Wharton, Auctuar. Hist. Dogm. Usserii, p. 403.

† A good modern transcript of this work, from what MS. is not stated, is contained in the British Museum, MS. Lansdowne, No. 209, fol. 1.

On account of this poem, Leyser admits Ailred into his list of medieval Latin poets.

Editions.

De probatis Sanctorum Historiis . . . Per F. Laurentium Surium Carthusianum. Tomus Primus. Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1570. fol. pp. 127—138, Edvardi regis Vita, authore Alredo Rhievallo Anglo, monacho et abba. Tomus Tertius, 1572. pp. 577—581, Vita S. Margaretæ reginæ Scotiæ, quam quidem S. Adelredus abbas primo conscripsit, sed hæc, quam nos edimus, ab alio quodam incerto authore, ex illo brevius descripta est. Vitæ Sanctorum ex probatis authoribus, &c. (the enlarged edition of Surius). Tom. i. Col. Agrip. 1617, pp. 62—78. Ailred's life of St. Edward. Tom. III. Ib. 1618. mens. Jun. pp. 167—170. The abridged life of St. Margaret.

Opera Divi Aelredi Rhievallensis quondam in Anglia ex ordine Cisterciensi abbatis, et D. Bernardi contemporalis : omnia ope et studio R. P. Richardi Gibboni Societatis Jesu Theologi, ex vetustis MSS. nunc primum in lucem producta, Variisque Lectionibus, Marginalibus Citationibus, et Indicibus illustrata. Duaci, 1631. 4to. This volume contains the Sermones de Onere Babylonis, the Compendium Speculi Charitatis, the Speculum Charitatis, the treatise de Spirituali Amicitia, and the Tractatus super Evangelium, cum factus esset Jesus annorum duodecim. The first edition of this collection was published in 1616.

Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum . . . Tomus Decimus Tertius. Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1618. fol. pp. 1—154. The works of Ailred reprinted from the Douai edition of Richard Gibbon, with the addition of a fragment from the tract De rebus (*l.* regibus) Angliæ.

Sancti Bernardi Clarævallensis abbatis primi . . . Opera Omnia, Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1640. coll. 82—91. Dominica infra octavam Epiphaniæ, Homilia de Puero Jesu duodeni: incorrectly ascribed to St. Bernard.

Acta Sanctorum . . . collegit, digessit, notis illustravit Joannes Bollandus . . . Januarius. Antverpiæ, 1643. tom. i. fol. pp. 292—302. Vita S. Edwardi Confes. regis Angl. auctore Sancto Ealredo.

Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X. . . . . ex vetustis manuscriptis, nunc primum in lucem editi. (By Sir Roger Twysden.) Londini, 1652. fol. coll. 337—346, Incipit Descriptio Viri Venerabilis Ethelredi abbatis Rievallensis, de bello inter regem Scotiæ et barones Angliæ apud Standardum juxta Alvertonam. Coll. 347—370, Ailredi abbatis Rievallis genealogia regum Anglorum. Coll. 369—414, Vita Sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris. Coll. 415—422, Ailredus abbas Rievallis de Sanctimoniali de Wattun.

Combesis, Bibliotheca Patrum Concionat. fol. Paris, 1662, indicated by Tanner, contains the Homilies of Ailred of Rievaux.

Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum . . . Tomus Vigesimustertius. Lugduni, 1677, fol. pp. 1—165. The works of Ailred reprinted from the Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, tom. 13.

Twenty-five inedited sermons of Ailred were printed in the Bibliotheca Cisterciensium, vol. v. p. 162.

Sancti Bernardi Abbatis primi Claræ-Vallensis volumen II. continens duos posteriores tomos V. et VI. . . . Post Horstium denuo recognita, repurgata, et in meliorem ordinem digesta, tertiis curis D. Johannis Mabillon, nova Editio. Parisiis, 1719. fol. coll. 568—574, Sermo Ælredi abbatis Rievallensis in Anglia Ord. Cisterciensis, in Adventu Domini, de Undecim oneribus Isaïæ. Coll. 590—603, Tractatus Ælredi abb. Rievallis, de Jesu puero duodenni.

Lucæ Holstenii Vaticanæ Basilicæ canonici et Bibliothecæ præfecti Codex Regularum monasticarum et canonicarum. Tomus I. Augustæ Vindelicorum, 1759. fol. pp. 420—440. Beati Ælredi abbatis Rievallensis Regula sive Institutio Inclusarum ad Sororem. The first edition of this work appeared in 1663.

REGINALD OF DURHAM.

This writer was a monk of Durham, and, from the circumstance of his being sometimes called Reginald of Coldingham, it is probable that he was either a native of that place, or had received there his monastic instruction in the cell dependent on the monastery of Durham. All we know of him further is that he was the friend of Ailred of Rievaux, to whom he dedicated his book on the miracles of St. Cuthbert. In this work he speaks of the year 1165 as occurring in his own time; and he alludes elsewhere to events which happened so late as 1173, but these were probably added to the original work, which is dedicated to Ailred, who died in 1166.

Reginald's work on the miracles of St. Cuthbert has been printed by the Surtees Society. It is written in the ordinary Latinity of his age, but the style is less disagreeable than that of most works of a similar kind, and, though distinguished by an extraordinary degree of credulity, it is a rich store of information on the manners and

history of the North of England in the twelfth century. One of these miracles furnishes the following description of a party of fishermen overtaken by a storm, which will serve as a specimen of the manner in which Reginald embellishes his narrative.

Nautæ quidam, dum pacata æquora aligero sulcarent remigio, omnia prospera supra quod optare potuerant habuere, pro destinato sui propositi desiderio. Nihil eis difficultatis occurrerat; nihil quod alicujus offendiculi impedimentum generare prævalebat. Qui quandoque jocando laxabant retia in capturam, et piscantes contrahabant prædæ multitudinem copiosam. Negociandi quidem opus noverant, et tamen piscatoriæ artis peritiam pro libito exercebant. Nam dum sereni aeris clementia dabat spatiandi locum sive lucri cujuslibet emolumentum, utraque exercebant pro tempore, et quærebant victui necessaria pro aerum et temporum moderata dispensatione. Tempore igitur isto secum utraque conduxerant; quia retibus et mercibus hac vice onerata navi abundabant. Nempe siquid piscandi laboribus adquisissent, tam ad esus sui cibaria quam ad vendendi commercia secum deportare potuissent. Ad vicinas siquidem regiones vel semotas quandoque navigabant pro vendendis negotiationibus, sive pro mercimoniis comparandis: nonnunquam vero, sicut et modo, marinis immorantes fluctibus, piscandi gratia insistebant. Subito ergo mare turbinibus agitur, fluctibus inquietis perturbatur, et tempestatum furiis inquietius agitatur. Fluctus navim lateraliter impellunt et rejiciunt; nunc proram in aera extollantes erigunt; nunc ad maris infima in præcipitio diducunt; modo puppis suprema absorbentes alluunt, nunc undarum spumantium pocula infundunt. Frigoris tamen asperitas tanta inhorruerat quod algentia membra nulla arte calefacere prævalebant. Vela tandem nimiis temptationum flabris dissilierant: malus ex medio confractus concrepuerat, et turbinibus dissipatæ tabularum juncturæ jam pene dissolutæ parebant. Manus etiam in remigiis retinendis jam defecerant, undisque cum nimio ponderis impetu supercadentibus, de viribus lascescientium remigia ipsa ex parte detraxerant, partemque residuam ipsi renitentes detrivendo confregerant. Nauta insuper armaturam regiminis, qua navis disponi debuerat, amisit; et navis sine gubernaculi destituta solamine, quocunque impetus fluctuum jactaverat dissiliebat. Tunc omnis spes vitæ ablata fuerat, nullusque nisi mortis solius exitum de eis aliquomodo sperare valebat.

Reginald of Durham is said also to have written, at the instigation of Ailred of Rievaux, and dedicated to Hugh de Pudsey, bishop of Durham, the life and miracles of St. Godric of Finchale, a copy of which is in the Bodleian Library.* His other works, preserved in the same col-

* MS. Laud, E. 47.

lection,* are the Lives and Miracles of St. Oswald, addressed to Henry subprior of Durham, and of St. Ebba.

Edition.

Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus quæ novellis patratæ sunt temporibus. 8vo. London, 1835. (Edited by the Rev. James Raine.)

HUGH ABBOT OF READING.

Hugh abbot of Reading belongs as a writer to Normandy more than to our island, and we ought perhaps to have placed him at an earlier date. He was a native of France, had studied at Laon, and took the monastic habit at Cluny.† Ordericus Vitalis speaks of him in a manner which would lead us to believe that he was a native of Amiens.‡ He resided in England during part of the reign of Henry I., whose favour he appears to have enjoyed; and by whom he was made successively prior of St. Pancras at Lewes, first abbot of Reading on the 15th of April, 1123, and archbishop of Rouen in 1130. We learn, from a letter which he wrote to the pope,§ that he attended the death-bed of king Henry I. Archbishop Hugh died on the 10th of November, 1164.‖ The

* MS. Fairfax, (Bibl. Bodl.) No. 6.

† At the conclusion of his dedicatory epistle, which precedes his seven books of Dialogues, addressed to Mathew bishop of Alby, he says, Nos enim et una generis consanguinitas et ejusdem professionis in Christo junxit societas, quos Francia genuit, quos Laudunense solum educavit et docuit, quos veste Christi Cluniacus induit.

‡ Orderius Vitalis, Hist. Eccl. lib. xii, sub fine.

§ Preserved by W. Malmsb. Hist. Novell. lib. i, p. 178. Martene, who printed this letter in his Amplissima Collectio, states erroneously that it related to king Stephen.

‖ See further on this prelate, the Gallia Christiana, vol. i. p. 580, the Monasticon, vol. VI. p. 30, and Tanner.

work by which he is chiefly known is a treatise on theology in seven books, written in the form of dialogue, which exhibits much profundity of thought and metaphysical learning. From a comparison of the manuscripts, Martene, who published this treatise, was led to believe that it was originally written while its author was abbot of Reading, and that it was revised at a subsequent period of his life. The following extract will give some notion of the manner in which he treats the theological questions which are discussed in it.

Int. Tua mihi responsio placet. Sed quomodo Deus ubique est? An per singula rerum magna vel minima diffusus partitusve est?

Resp. Scire debes quia Deus, cum ubique est, non mole corporea vel magnitudine spatiosa per cuncta diffusus est. Non est enim minor in parte quam in toto, nec in toto quam in parte major; sicut immortalitas quæ in Christo præcessit, et nobis in fine promittitur, non erit in aliqua parte corporis majus vel minus. Quantitas sane corporis in partibus suis amplioribus amplior est, in brevioribus minor. Qualitas vero corporis, quæ dicitur immortalitas, tanta erit in majoribus quanta in minoribus subjecti corporis partibus. Dispar erit in membrorum magnitudine quantitas; sed par erit in disparibus qualitas, dum una per totum erit sanitas vel immortalitas. Sed differenti modo qualitas hæc erit in corpore subjecto, et Deus in omni creato. Si enim sua qualitatibus subjecta tuleris, qualitates nusquam erunt, et ideo nec erunt. Quemadmodum si corpora spatiis locorum auferas, corpora nusquam erunt; et quia nusquam erunt, nec ipsa erunt. At vero Deus inest quidem rebus, et simul omnibus totus, et in singulis totus, manens quidem ubique in se ipso totus. In se ipso dixi: quia cum omne cui inest, sine ipso esse non possit, ipse non egens aliquo, tanquam non possit esse sine illo, perfectus et beatus manet in se ipso solo.

Martene has printed a life of St. Adjutor by this writer, and two tracts on Memory and on the Catholic faith. He was also the author of a tract on the heresies which rose in Britany in his days; and there was formerly in the library of Christ's Church, Canterbury, a letter of Hugh abbot of Reading to the bishop of Anjou on the deposition or excommunication of priests, and another letter on the soul *(De Anima)*. Pits mentions other letters to pope Celestine II. and to Peter of Blois.

Editions.

Martene, Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum, Tomus Quintus. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1717. fol. coll. 891—1008, Hugonis archiepiscopi Rotomagensis Dialogorum, seu Quæstionum Theologicarum, Libri VII. Ex duobus MSS. uno Colbertino, altero Rothomagensi domini Grebovaldi. Coll. 1011—1018, Vita Sancti Adjutoris monachi Tironensis, auctore Hugone archiepiscopo Rotomagensi hujus nominis tertio.

Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Historicorum, Dogmaticorum, Moralium, amplissima collectio. Tomus IX. Prodiit nunc primum studio et opera domni Edmundi Martene et domni Ursini Durand. Parisiis, 1733. fol. coll. 1185—1212, Tractatus de Memoria, complectens tres libros in laudem memoriæ, auctore Hugone Rothomagensi archiepiscopo. Coll. 1211—1236, Hugo Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, Super fide catholica, et oratione dominica. Col. 1236, Epistola Hugonis archiepiscopi Rothomagensis, ad Innocentium papam II., de obitu Stephani regis Anglorum.

ROBERT DE MELUN, BISHOP OF HEREFORD.

ROBERT DE MELUN was a native of England, who, having been a disciple of Abelard, avoided those doctrines of his master which were offensive to the church, and opened a school at Paris, where he taught with great reputation. But he subsequently removed his school to Melun, where he continued long to teach, and from this circumstance he obtained his name.* He remained in France from about 1130 to 1160. Among his scholars were John of Salisbury, John of Cornwall, and Thomas Becket. By the influence of the latter, Robert de Melun, who had returned to England soon after the date last mentioned, was made bishop of Hereford on the 22nd of May, 1163. It appears that he was then advanced in years, and he died on the 28th of February, 1167.

* See Joh. Sarisb. Metalogicus, lib. ii. c. 10. Magistro Roberto Meludensi, ut cognomine designetur quod meruit in scholarum regimine; natione siquidem Angligena est.

Robert de Melun was one of the most distinguished metaphysicians of his age, and has been praised, perhaps more than he deserves, for the elegance of his diction. After quitting the school of Abelard, he became one of the leaders of the realists, and his disciples formed a sect which was long known by the name of Robertines. They established their school on the summit of the mountain of St. Geneviève, and appear in the sequel to have shown a leaning towards nominalism. Godefroi of St. Victor, who wrote a curious rhyming poem on the philosophical sects of his day, of which extracts are given in the Histoire Littéraire de France,* speaks of the Robertines with considerable asperity.

> Hærent saxi vertice turbæ Robertinæ,
> Saxeæ duritiæ vel adamantinæ,
> Quos nec rigat pluvia neque ros doctrinæ:
> Vetant amnis aditum scopulorum minæ.
>
> Ipsi falsum litigant nihil sequi vere;
> Quamvis tamen ipsimet post hos abiere
> Qui de solo nomine fingunt mille fere:
> Igitur pro nihilo licet hos censere.

The work by which Robert de Melun was chiefly known is a profound metaphysical treatise on the nature of God, angels, and man, of the soul, of man's state and position before and after the fall, and of his redemption. It bears sometimes the simple title of *Sententiæ*, and at others is entitled *Summa Sententiarum*, or *Summa Theologiæ*. There was a good manuscript in the library of St. Victor at Paris, from which Du Boulay printed very extensive extracts;† and a good copy of the latter part, and an abridgment of the whole, are preserved in the British

* Hist. Lit. de Fr. vol. xv. p. 83. An article on Robert de Melun will be found in the same work, vol. xiii. p. 371.

† Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Paris, vol. ii. pp. 585—628.

Museum.* The following brief chapter will convey to the reader some notion of the style and character of his work; it is taken from the first division or book of the Museum MS., which appears to have been the twelfth of the whole work:

c. xxv. *Quod homo nihil habet commune cum spiritibus cœlestibus, si tantum est corpus ex anima et carne compositum.*

Si enim ipsum corpus, quod hominem esse obloquuntur, rationale est, et sapientum ethnicorum et christianorum orthodoxorum omnis distinctio quam de hominis naturis faciunt vana et falsa esse comprobatur. Aiunt enim hominem naturam corpoream cum animalibus irrationalibus habere communem, sed naturam incorpoream cum spiritibus cœlestibus. Quæ distinctio vana et falsa est, si homo tantum corpus est. Nam si homo tantum corpus est, et ipse id solum est quod cum animalibus brutis commune habet. Hoc autem si unum est, quod esse oportet si tantum corpus est homo, vana et cassa distinctio est quam constat ab omnibus de substantiis hominis fieri. Omnes enim hominem unam sui partem, id est corpoream substantiam, cum brutis animalibus dicunt habere communem, alteram vero sui partem cum spiritibus cœlestibus, id est animam, habet indifferentem. Quare enim hujusmodi distinctio facta sit de substantiis hominis nulla causa esse videtur, cum et ipse homo ejus solum sit naturæ cujus illa ejus pars est quam cum brutis animalibus habet communem. Quod namque totum cum parte habet commune non toti attribuendum sic est, ut a parte tollatur, nec quod pars cum toto habet commune, parti sic est conferendum, quod a toto removeatur. Et ideo si compositum ex anima et corpore corpus est, pro nihilo distinctio facta est, quæ hominem quandam partem sui dicit habere communem cum brutis animalibus, aliam vero cum spiritibus cœlestibus. Nam non solum quandam sui partem, id est corpus, quod cum anima conjunctum ipsum hominem constituerit, cum brutis animalibus habet communem, quia etiam ipsum compositum ex anima et corpore si ipsum corpus est, in quantum corpus est cum brutis animalibus communis naturæ est. Et ideo distinctio de partibus hominis facta est cassa et vana, si ex corpore et anima compositum solum est corpus.

Du Boulay ascribed wrongly to this prelate a Pœnitential which was preserved in a manuscript in the library of St. Victor. Robert de Melun has been frequently confounded with Robert Losinga, and sometimes with Robert Foliot, bishops of Hereford.

* The portion of the work itself in MS. Reg. 7 C. II. and the abridgement in MS. Reg. 7 F. XIII.

WILLIAM OF PETERBOROUGH.

All we know of this writer is that he was a monk of Ramsey, that he was a learned theologian and grammarian, and that his works were long treasured up in his abbey, of which he was remembered as a bright ornament as late as the time of Leland. He is said to have flourished in 1168. Wood pretends that he studied in the university of Oxford. The titles of his works, preserved in the bibliographical catalogue of Boston of Bury, were *Distinctiones Theologicæ*, in one book; two volumes of Homilies; one of Commentaries on the Song of Solomon; *Euphrastica*, or expositions of some of the more difficult passages of the Holy Scriptures, in a hundred chapters; a work entitled *Liber Partium*; and interpretations of Scripture names. The *Euphrastica* is still extant in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library,* apparently the same which Leland saw at Ramsey.

THOMAS BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

The life of this remarkable man belongs rather to political than to literary history; he appears to have exercised but little direct influence on the literature of his country, and his only claim to a place among English writers seems to rest upon a collection of his letters chiefly relating to

* MS. Bodl. Super A. 1, art. 44.

the political affairs in which he was engaged, which are said to have been first arranged, with a great number of letters by other persons, in four books, by John of Salisbury. The father of Becket was a merchant of London, who had married a Saracen damsel, and their connection was the subject of an interesting story or legend. Thomas was born in London in 1119; he received his first education from the prior of Merton, and afterwards studied at Paris. Theobald archbishop of Canterbury sent him subsequently to Bologna, to study the canon law. By the friendship of this prelate, and afterwards of king Henry II., he went through a series of rapid promotions until he was elected archbishop of Canterbury in 1162. His subsequent disputes with his former benefactor, and the circumstances which led to his murder on the 29th of December, 1170, are detailed in every history of England. He was canonized in 1173.

The only writing attributed to Thomas of Canterbury, besides his epistles, is a Latin hymn to the Virgin, commencing with the words *Gaude flore virginali,* which is found in manuscripts. His epistles are written in a good style, and are strongly characteristic of the violence of character which marked his political history. The following is the commencement of a letter to Robert Foliot bishop of Hereford, one of the prelates who remained firm to the party of the king:

Si literæ nostræ fraternitatis tuæ excitavere sollicitudinem, utinam nec affectu desidem reperissem, nec circa officii suscepti effectum minus vigilem. Elegi ego abjectus esse anathema pro omnibus vobis, opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis, ne viderem mala sanctorum, et dissimularem injuriam gentis nostræ, expectans si quis forte ex omnibus vobis zelans legem Dei, ecclesiæ libertatem saltem affectans, exiret post me et veniret, et non daremus cornua peccatoribus. Et ecce tu, quem credebam mihi a Domino datum esse, ut mecum ædificares, evelleres, et plantares, propinas mihi stimulum in ruinam, solatium in desolationem, prædicans humiliationem, immo dejectionem, annuncians bonum cum undique sit turbatio, in perniciem

ecclesiæ et clericorum. Et cum deberes animi vacillantis formare constantiam, sustinere mecum congressum ad defendendum patrimonium crucifixi, et reprimendos et expugnandos hostes ecclesiæ, instillare auribus meis, inspirare animo meo, ut obsecrarem instantius, arguerem arctius, et increparem durius. Quod si me non audierit, exclamare certe debueras contra me: Exsurge, quare obdormis? Exere gladium beati Petri, vindica sanguinem servorum Christi, qui effusus est, injurias ecclesiæ, quæ in nobis et nostris fiunt tota die. Exciditne a memoria tua, quantis sim afflictus injuriis, quibus contumeliis affectus, cum in persona mea contra omnem authoritatem, contra omnem juris formam, iterum judicaretur Christus ante tribunal principis? Non revoco certe ad animum propriæ personæ injuriam, etsi ecclesiæ. Attende diligentius, arctius in corde repone, quid ageretur ante exitum meum, quid in exitu, quid postea, quid etiam agatur singulis diebus in terra illa circa Dei ecclesiam et ejus ministros. Qua animi conscientia dissimulare potes tu, de quo sperabatur, quod esses redempturus Israel, a servitute liberaturus ecclesiam? Et nunc qui tanto tempore tacuisti, doleo super te, frater, fili mi primogenite. Timeo ne succedat tibi, qui tollat tua primogenita, et auferat primogeniti benedictionem: quod absit a te.

Edition.

Epistolæ et Vita Divi Thomæ martyris et archiepiscopi Cantuariensis. Nec non Epistolæ Alexandri III. Pontificis, Galliæ Regis Ludovici Septimi, Angliæ Regis Henrici II., aliarumque plurium sublimium ex utroque foro personarum: concernentes Sacerdotii et Imperii concordiam: in lucem productæ ex MS. Vaticano: opera et studio F. Christiani Lupi, Iprensis. Bruxellis, 1682. 4to.

Tanner mentions a previous edition of the Epistolæ with the Life (the Quadrilogus), printed at London in 1495.

WACE.

WACE was one of the most remarkable Anglo-Norman poets of the twelfth century, and (partly from accidental circumstances) he has obtained a much greater reputation in modern times than any of the others. Some errors have arisen from not observing that the name is merely

the vernacular form of the Latin *Eustacius*, and from presuming him to be related to other persons of the same name mentioned in early documents.* All, indeed, that we know of Wace's personal history is derived (as in the case of so many other eminent men of letters or science) from the account he gives of himself in his own writings. He tells us that he was born in the isle of Jersey, that when a child he was carried to Caen, where he was put to school, that he afterwards studied during a length of time in France, and that, after his return, he resided long at Caen, and employed himself in writing in *Romanz* (or in the French language). Subsequently, as his reputation as a poet increased, King Henry II. gave him a prebend at Baieux.† In other places Wace informs us that he had seen the three king Henries, Henry I., his grandson Henry II., and the son of Henry II., who was crowned while his father was alive, and that he was a reading clerk *(clerc lisant)* in the time of all these three kings.‡ We must, therefore, place his birth early in the twelfth century. He informs us, at the end of his Roman de Brut, that that poem was completed in the year 1155,§ immediately after the accession of Henry II. to the throne. The poem, attributed to Wace, entitled the Ascending Chronicle, states

* Our poet has been called Robert Wace, and Matthew Wace, and Richard Wace. The first of these names arose out of a singular misapprehension of the language of the poet, who tells us, at the end of his life of St. Nicholas, that he composed that poem at the request of Robert son of Tiout, or Fitz-Tiout:

> A l'oes Robert le fitz Tiout,
> Qui saint Nicholas mult amout.

Which Huet, in his Origines de Caen, read as though it had been *Robert le fit tout*, or, *Robert made it all*, and applied it to the poet himself.

† Roman de Rou, ed. Pluquet, vol. ii. p. 95.

‡ Roman de Rou, ed. Pluquet, vol. i. p. 272, and vol. ii. p. 408.

§ Roman de Brut, ed. Le Roux de Lincy, vol. ii. p. 298.

that Wace composed the Roman de Rou in 1160; but this cannot be strictly true, for he alludes to the translation of the body of duke Richard II. to the abbey of Fescamp,* which took place in 1161, and the young prince Henry, of whose coronation he speaks, was crowned in the year 1170. It is therefore more probable that the Roman de Rou was completed about the year 1171. He appears to have ended his task in disgust, because king Henry had ordered another poet, Benoit, to write the history of the Normans; and Wace seems at this time to have been advanced in years and fallen into neglect. He complains that the king had made him promises which he had not fulfilled†. We have no information relative to the date of his death, but he probably did not long outlive the completion of his most celebrated poem. Wace appears to have passed nearly his whole life in Normandy; he belongs to English literature chiefly by the subjects of his principal poems, though his use of English words, and various allusions contained in his writings, would lead us to believe that he was not a stranger to our island.

Wace's first great undertaking was a translation into Anglo-Norman verse of the newly published British History of Geoffrey of Monmouth, under the title of *Li Romans de Brut,* which extends to upwards of fifteen thousand lines. In this poem Wace sometimes translates his original very closely, at others he paraphrases it with considerable amplifications, and here and there he adds an incident taken from his own imagination or from popular

* Roman de Rou, vol. i. p. 370.

† Li reis jadis maint bien me fist,
Mult me duna, plus me pramist;
E se il tot duné m'éust
Co k'il me pramist, mielx me fust:
Ne l' poiz aveir, ne plout al rei,
Maiz n'est mie remez en mei.

traditions and legends which he gathered in Britany. In this respect chiefly Wace's translation is of value, because he was certainly acquainted with the legendary lore of the country from which the original materials of Geoffrey's history are said to have been brought. In some of his poetical amplifications, Wace rises much above the arid style of the mere metrical chronicler. There is vigour in the following picture of the wrestling between Corineus and the giant Gogmagog:

> Bras à bras sunt al luiter pris,
> Bras ont desus et desos mis.
> Es-les-vous ensamble jostés,
> Pis contre pis, lés contre lés;
> Par derier les dos s'embrachierent,
> Et par air los mains lachierent.
> Dont veissiés tor contre tor,
> Vigor metre contre vigor,
> Et piés avant et piés ariere,
> Et engin de mainte maniere.
> Tornent de çà, tornent de là,
> Chescun fu fors, si s'aira;
> Des poitrines s'entrebotoient.
> Et des gambes loins s'aforçoient,
> A la foie s'asambloient
> Si que tot droit à mont estoient;
> Dont les véist-on bien suer,
> Et des nés froncher et sofler;
> Faces noircir, iels roellier,
> Sorcils lever, sorcils baissier,
> Dens treskigner, color muer,
> Testes froier, testes hurter.
> Bouter et sacher et empaindre,
> Lever, soufascher, et estraindre,
> Baissier, et derchier, et esmer,
> Et gambes fairc et tost torner.
> A la hance i ot maint tor fait,
> Et sofascié et à mont trait;
> Cascuns voloit l'altre soprendre,
> Et se penoit de lui desfendre.

The *Roman de Rou* (or *of Rollo*) contains nearly seventeen thousand lines. It comprises a history of the Nor-

mans from their first settlement in Normandy to the battle of Tinchebray in 1106, and is divided into two parts. The first part commences in the same short metre in which the Roman de Brut is written; but when Wace comes to the invasion of Rollo he suddenly adopts the long metre, with many consecutive rhymes, of the early romances, and continues to use it during the rest of this part of the poem, *i. e.* down to the reign of duke Richard I. The following character of duke Richard is given as a specimen of this part of the work:

> Richart sout en Daneiz [e] en Normant parler;
> Li poil aveit auqes rous, le vis apert e cler;
> L'altrui sout e li suen bien prendre e doner;
> Une chartre sout lire, e li parz deviser,
> Li pere l'out bien fet duire e doutriner.
> De tables e d'eschez sout compaignon mater;
> Bien sout paistre un oisel e livrer e porter;
> En bois sout cointement e berser e vener;
> As talevas se sout bien couvrir e moler,
> Mestre pié destre avant e entre d'els dobler;
> Talons sout remuer e retraire e noxer,
> Saillir deverz senestre e treget tost geter:
> C'est un colp damageux ki ne s'en seit garder,
> Mez l'en ne s'i deit mie lungement demorer.

With the second part, Wace returns to the shorter metre, which is continued through the rest of the poem. In the earlier portion of his history of the Normans, Wace compiles chiefly from William of Jumieges and Dudo of St. Quentin, adding from time to time curious details, of the sources of which we are ignorant. His knowledge of the local legends of Normandy and Britany, to which he seems to have been attached, gives him his greatest importance in the eye of the historian.* Thus,

* I think the editor of the Roman de Brut, in giving Wace the credit of wishing to discriminate between the true and the false in the British History (Analyse, p. 33), has misunderstood the lines—

> Les teces Artur vous dirai,
> Noiant ne vous en mentirai.

It

for some incidents of the history of William Longue-espée, he refers to the authority of the people of Fécamp, and at the same time he tells us that in his childhood he had heard the jogleurs or minstrels chaunt episodes of the history of the Normans:

> Entende cil ki m'ot, si me face escolter;
> Jo ne die mie fable, ne jo ne voil fabler;
> Testimuigne m'en pot cil de Fescam porter.
> La geste est grande, lunge, e grieve à translater,
> Mez l'en me porreit bien mon engien aviver.
> Mult m'est doux li travail, quant jo kuid cunquester;
> Li Normanz e lor gestes m'estuet avant mener.
> A jugleors oï en m'effance chanter
> Ke Willame jadis fist Osmont essorber, &c.

And, when he digresses to speak of the wonders of the forest of Brecheliant in Britany, he tells us that he had visited the spot in search of the marvellous, but in vain:

> Là alai-jo merveilles querre,
> Vis la forest e vis la terre;
> Merveilles quis, maiz ne's trovai;
> Fol m'en revins, fol i alai,
> Fol i alai, fol m'en revins,
> Folie quis, por fol me tins.

The manner, however, in which he here speaks of himself seems to absolve him from too much credulity. In the part of his history subsequent to the Norman invasion of England, Wace becomes so valuable an authority that we have reason to regret that he did not continue his history down to the time at which he wrote. As a poet, he is more remarkable for naïveté of description than for loftiness of sentiment or beauty of style.

In addition to the two great poems already described, three other pieces bearing the name of Wace are preserved,

It is the mere usual assertion of the truth of the history, in which the poet of course believed.

two at least of which are certainly of his composition. These are,

A metrical life of St. Nicholas, which is found in several manuscripts, both in England and on the continent.

A poem on the establishment of the Festival of the Conception of our Lady, (which was formerly known as the *Feste aux Normans,*) by an abbot of Ramsey in the reign of William the Conqueror.

A metrical genealogy of the dukes of Normandy, intitled *La Chronique Ascendante des Ducs de Normandie,* which M. Michel, in his Introduction to the edition of Benoit, conjectures to have been written by another person, about twenty years after the time of Wace, under that poet's name.* Indeed it appears to give a wrong date to the composition of the *Roman de Rou.*†

All these poems have been printed. We have no reason for believing that Wace wrote anything else; and it was only by misunderstanding a passage of the Roman de Rou, in which its author speaks in general terms, that the abbé de la Rue was led to attribute to him "a crowd of romances"‡ as well as lais and serventois.§

Editions.

Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Normandie, tom. i. Rouen, 1825. 8vo. second part, pp. 444—447. The *Chronique Ascendante des Ducs de Normandie,* edited by M. Pluquet.

Le Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie, par Robert Wace, poète Normand du xiie siècle; publié pour la première fois, d'après les manu-

* Michel, Introduction to Benoit, p. xv.

† It is just possible that, as M. de la Rue thinks, the first part of the *Roman de Rou* was written in 1160, and the second part at a subsequent period, although his chief argument for this supposition, that Wace wrote the second part in rivalry to Benoit, is not sound.

‡ Cette foule de romans. M. de la Rue, Des Trouvères, &c. vol. ii. p. 149.

§ M. de la Rue, ib. p. 180.

scrits de France et d'Angleterre ; avec des notes pour servir à l'intelligence du texte, par Frédéric Pluquet. Rouen, 1827. 2 vols. 8vo.*

An edition of the Life of St. Nicholas has been printed for the Société des Bibliophiles Français, by M. de Monmerqué.

Le Roman de Brut, par Wace, poète du xiie. Siècle ; publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits des Bibliothèques de Paris, avec un Commentaire et des Notes, par Le Roux de Lincy. Tom. I. Rouen, 1836. Tom. II. ib. 1838. 8vo. With a Description des Manuscrits, published separately.

L'Etablissement de la Fète de La Concepcion Nôtre-Dame dite la Fète aux Normands, par Wace, trouvère Anglo-Normand du xiie. siècle, publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi, par MM. G. Mancel et G. S. Trebutien. Caen, 1842. 8vo.

RADULPH DE DUNSTABLE AND WILLIAM OF ST. ALBAN'S.

The first of these writers, who is known by a Latin metrical life of St. Alban and St. Amphibalus, in two books, is called by some Robert ; but we have the direct testimony of John de Whethamstede,† and of an apparently trustworthy writer of the abbey of St. Alban's in the fourteenth century, (who enumerates him among the worthies of that house, and who tells us that his poetry was equal to that of Virgil,) that his name was Radulph.‡ Radulph de Dunstable was a monk of St. Alban's about the middle of the twelfth century, as it is supposed, for there are considerable difficulties in fixing his exact date. Bale and others placed his death in 1151, but they confound him with the

* This book should be accompanied with the *Observations philologiques et grammaticales sur le Roman de Rou* by M. Raynouard, 8vo. 1829. M. Pluquet has published in 8vo. 1824, a *Notice sur la Vie et les Ecrits de Robert Wace.*

† Jo. Whethamstede, Granar. cited by Tanner.

‡ Radulphus de Dunstaplia non impar Maroni floruit, qui scripsit metrice vitas sanctorum Albani et Amphibali. MS. Cotton. Claud. E. IV. fol. 332, v°. Tanner has entered this writer as three persons under the three heads, *Dunstable (Robertus de)*; *Radulphus fani Albani monachus;* and *Radulphus de Dunstaplia.*

abbot Radulph de Gubiun. He wrote his life of St. Alban at the request of another monk of the same house, named William, who had written on the same subject in prose, and who died before Radulph had completed the first book of his metrical work. A copy of William's prose life of St. Alban is preserved in the Cottonian Library.* Bale says that this writer flourished in 1170, which appears to have been nothing more than a conjecture. The book is dedicated to Simon, who was abbot of St. Alban's from 1167 to 1188, and who is represented as a patron of literature; but in a manner which would seem to indicate that it had been written some time previous to his being raised to that dignity. William states that his book was merely a translation from an English life of the saint, perhaps from one of the Anglo-Saxon homilies, with the exception of one circumstance taken from the History of the Britons by Geoffrey of Monmouth. This preface is brief, and will serve as a specimen of this author's style:

Reverendo patri et Domino karissimo Symoni Willelmus in Domino salutem. Cum liber Anglico sermone conscriptus, passionem beati martyris Albani continens, ad vestram notitiam pervenisset, ut eum verbis Latinis exprimerem præcepistis. Ego vero vobis non obedire nefas existimans, dicto parui, non tamen ex aliqua præsumptione, sed ne contemni jubentis auctoritas videretur. Quod opus nomini vestro credidi consecrandum, non inveniens cui magis oris mei primitias offerrem quam Domini sacerdoti. Siquid minus Latine forte sonuerit apud doctas aures, interpretem novum obedientia, quæ viribus plerumque majora præsumit, excusabit. Sciendum autem quod huic operi beati clerici nomen adjecerim, quod non in libro quem transfero, sed in historia quam Gaufridus Arturus de Britannico in Latinum se vertisse testatur, inveni. Sed ne verborum prolixitas homini displiceat occupato, restat nunc qualiter auctori operis sui præfationem dirigat audiatur.

In the manuscript this life is followed by an account of the posthumous miracles of the two saints, and by a history of the discovery of their bodies in 1178, which appear,

* MS. Cotton. Faustina, B. IV. According to Tanner, there is another MS. of this work in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford.

by their difference of style, to have been written by another (a later) author. We may probably place William's death, and the composition of the poem by Radulph de Dunstable, in, or soon after, the year 1170.

Ralph's poem is contained in two manuscripts in the British Museum, the earliest of which* is less complete than the later copy.† Leland calls this writer *poeta non contemnendus;* and his work *tersum, canorum, et rotundum opus;* but his verses hardly support the eulogy given him by the anonymous writer of the fourteenth century quoted above. In the following prologue he addresses his poem to the monk William:—

Albani celebrem cœlo terrisque triumphum
  Ruminat inculto carmine Clio rudis.
Ardua res poscit pectus studiumque Maronis:
  Non Maro sum fateor, sed neque Codrus ego.
Non acie mentis, non artis luceo cultu,
  Ut metrice martyr martyris esse queam.
Martyris interpres me martyris ire poetam
  Tu, Willelme, mihi dux stimulusque cies;
Quem de barbarie veteri novitate Latina
  Evolvis, versu me recitare volens.
Qui cupis Amphibali fortis sublime trophæum,
  Quod socias prosa, me sociare metro.
Allegans quod eos fidei schola fœdere primo,
  Et nunc consorti nectat honore polus.
Me plus discipulo doctorem carmine pulsat
  Jungere, quod jungat me tibi pignus idem.
Hoc me compellit ad quod petis et magis urget
  Quolibet imperio, quod pius orat amor.
Sis igitur clipeus, plus auso, paupere vena,
  Æacidæ Chiron non mihi tendo chelim.

This poem is not a mere translation from William's prose, as Radulph adds circumstances not found in the original, and considerably amplifies the text. In the first book he introduces Amphibalus discoursing at some length on the scripture history, commencing with the creation

* MS. Cotton. Julius, D. III.
† MS. Cotton. Claudius, E. IV.

and ending with the passion of Christ. The following description of paradise will serve as a further specimen of the style of this poem:—

> Ille locus thalamus requiei, regia pacis,
>   Theca voluptatis, lætitiæque sinus.
> Tutus et assiduus, spectabilis atque saluber,
>   Temperie, forma, fertilitate, situ;
> Quem sic eous vertex levat ut nisi ductu
>   Illuc divino scandere nemo queat.
> Fructiferæ semper nova dant ibi germina vires,
>   Quas vaga quadrifidi semita fontis alit.
> Illic se veris spectantes mutuo nati
>   Alternant vultus conficiuntque suos.
> Nil illic tonitru nubes, nil turbine venti,
>   Nil æstas æstu, nil nive bruma potest.

There appears no reason for attributing to Radulph de Dunstable the anonymous poems which follow in the earlier manuscript of his Life of St. Alban, from which they differ entirely in style and character.

JOHN OF CORNWALL.

JOHN of Cornwall, so named probably from the district in which he was born, is said by Leland to have studied at Rome, and elsewhere in Italy, but Leland gives no authority for this statement; it appears more certain that he had been a disciple of Peter Lombard and Robert de Melun, in France. We know nothing further of the personal history of John of Cornwall. He is generally considered as having flourished in 1170. His most remarkable work, written to controvert some theological doctrines of Peter Lombard, Abelard, and others, relating to the humanity of Christ, belongs to one of the prominent controversies of his time; it generally bears the title of *Eulogium,* and is addressed to Pope Alexander III. It has been supposed that this book was published in 1169 or

1170.* Peter Lombard replied to this attack with considerable asperity, although the doctrines against which it was directed had been formally condemned in the council of Tours in 1163. The Eulogium of John of Cornwall is not uncommon in manuscripts: the following passage of the Prologue shows the spirit in which it was written:

In Turonensi concilio quod dudum convocatis plerisque omnibus tam Anglicanæ quam Gallicanæ prælatis ecclesiæ autoritate vestra celebratum est et præsentia illustratum, dogma quorumdam asserentium quod Christus non est aliquis homo, et quod Christus secundum quod homo non est quid, disputando ventilari cœpit. Utra vero pars disputantium in pugna verborum prævaluerit nescio, sed tam iniquam et fidei Christianæ inimicam falsitatem in tali ac tanto Christi auditorio nullis credo fuisse veritatis aut victoriæ titulis insignitam. Noluit tamen tam dives et copiosa mansuetudinis vestræ clementia assertionem illam statim canonica ferire censura, ne ejus auctores et defensores, qui forte non pertinacia sed ignorantia deliquerant, vel ipsa condemnatio pravitatis tantum involveret, vel perpetuam eis infamiæ notam impingeret. Ex eadem vero mansuetudine vestra multo postmodum temporis sustentationis elapso, etiam quadam epistola decretali, quæ super arrogationem pravæ illius doctrinæ ad venerabilem Guillelmum tunc Senonensem hodie Remensem archiepiscopum legitur directa, nequaquam exprimitur anathemate percussos vel etiam percellendos esse, qui errore illum tenere seu docere præsumerent. Quoniam itaque infiniti scholares hoc calice debriati et in furorem versi usque in hodiernum diem patientia vestra contumaciter abutuntur, qui nequaquam misericordiæ vestræ piam dispensationem laudant, sed impium dogma velut catholicum prædicant; fiat tandem illud Prosperi quod in Decretis legitur.

John of Cornwall had previously written a shorter tract on the same subject, which has been erroneously inserted among the works of Hugo de St. Victor under the title *Apologia de Christi incarnatione.*

Another treatise by this writer, who appears to have enjoyed considerable reputation as a theologian, is found in a manuscript at Cambridge,† with the title *Summa magistri Johannis Cornubiensis qualiter fiat sacramentum altaris per virtutem sanctæ crucis, et de septem canonibus vel ordinibus missæ.* The old bibliographers have made three separate books of this title, and attribute to the same

* Hist. Lit. de Fr. tom. xiv. p. 197.

† MS. Coll. Corp. Chr. Cambridge, No. 459.

writer one or two other works, for the titles of which there appears to be no authority.

Edition.

Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum, Tomus Quintus. Prodit nunc primum studio et opera domni Edmundi Martene et domni Ursini Durand. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1717, fol. coll. 1655—1702. Eulogium magistri Johannis Cornubiensis ad Alexandrum papam III. quod Christus sit aliquis homo. According to Fabricius, the Eulogium of John of Cornwall was also printed among the works of Hugo de St.Victor, vol. III. p. 399.

GERVASE OF CHICHESTER.

Gervase, who probably took his cognomen from the place of his birth, was one of the learned men collected together by Thomas Becket, of whom he was a staunch partizan, although he did not follow him in his exile. We are informed that he was then young;* so that Bale and Pits place him somewhat too early when they say he flourished about A. D. 1160. The work by which Gervase is chiefly known is a "commentary on the prophecy of Malachi, on the duties of the priesthood," in thirteen books, of which there is a good manuscript in the British Museum.† In the following rhyming verses, prefixed to the book in this manuscript, he informs us that he had also written a life of Thomas Becket, as the model of a good priest, and that he was then advanced in years:

Versus Gervasii.

Proxima confectum senio me fata vocabant,
Nec tamen a studio manus affectusque vacabant.

* The tract entitled Catalogus Eruditorum Beati Thomæ Martyris, printed at the end of the Quadrilogus, gives us the following account of Gervase:—Post hunc Gervasius, similiter sicut natione, at cognomine Cicestrensis, juvenis certe tunc sicut in moribus, et in literarum scientia commendabilis. Verum nec iste, cum nec vocaretur, patriam egressus est.

† MS. Reg. 3 B. X. Super Malachiam prophetam, de ordinis sacerdotalis instructione.

Ex hinc aggrediens occulte verba sophiæ,
Ethicus explicui perplexa libri Malachiæ;
In quo justitiæ varios dissemino flores,
Atque sacerdotum distortos dirigo mores;
Curæ pervigilis pastoribus imprimo formam,
Ordinis et juris sectandam profero normam.
His vultus rutilos virtutum pingo figuris,
His facies fœdas vitiorum sculpo lituris.
Presbyter aut præsul qua se virtute decoret,
Quid doceat, celebret, quid agat, quid sedulus oret,
Quo zelo reprobos feriat, justos adamando
Confoveat, deno ternoque volumine pando.
  Ad nova post animo laudum præconia flexo,
Pontificis Thomæ vitam meritumque retexo;
Meque coegit amor cui vivo vivus adhæsi,
Martyris interitum gladiis describere cæsi,
Quem velut appositam prælatis inspiciendam,
Pastoris rigidi formam describo tenendam;
Asperitas vestis, solidæ constantia mentis,
Exilii damnum, feritas contempta potentis,
Lictorum gladiis cervix oblata cruentis,
In gremio matris virtus erecta cadentis,
Excussum cerebrum sanguisque per atria manans,
Copia signorum, languorum milia sanans,
Omnia pastori fiunt exempla regendi,
Ne cadat a cura cogente metu moriendi.
Attendas igitur, pastor, mea scripta legendo,
Ut qualem doceo sis talis ovile regendo.

Leland speaks of having seen a book of Homilies, and a commentary on the Psalms of David, by Gervase of Chichester; a homily on the sanctity of the sacerdotal order, and another in praise of St. John the Baptist, follow his commentary on Malachi in the manuscript in the British Museum.

ROGER OF HEREFORD.

Roger of Hereford was a mathematician of considerable note, but we are quite ignorant of his personal

history. Such of his writings as are preserved do not appear to possess much importance. They are found chiefly in the Bodleian Library at Oxford,* under the titles *Theorica Planetarum; De Quatuor Partibus Judicii Astronomiæ* in four books; *De Ortu et Occasu Signorum; De Rebus Metallicis.* Leland mentions another work by Roger, entitled *Collectaneum Annorum Omnium Planetarum,* written, as he informs us, at Hereford in 1170. A manuscript in the British Museum contains an astronomical table by Roger of Hereford, with a brief introduction, in which it is stated to have been composed "for midnight at Hereford, in the year of our Lord 1178, after the eclipse which happened at Hereford in the same year."† It is clear from these notices that Roger lived and made his observations at Hereford; and he appears to have been a follower of the Arabian sciences, for in the introduction to the table just mentioned he apologises for using the Christian year and the Roman months, "because the years and months of the Arabs are difficult to our people, who are not accustomed to use them."‡ Bale further ascribes to Roger of Hereford a work entitled *Expositiones Ælphidii,* which is, perhaps, merely the treatise of Alphidius, *De Creatione Metallorum,* found by Leland in the same manuscript which contained the tract of Roger of Hereford, *De Rebus Metallicis.*

* The references to them will be found in Tanner, who has followed Leland in making two separate articles of Roger, under the titles *Rogerus Henofortensis* aud *Rogerus Herefordus.*

† Compositi a magistro Rogero super annos Domini ad mediam noctem Herefordiæ anno ab incarnatione Domini M°. c°. lxx°. viij°. post eclipsim quæ contigit Herefordiæ eodem anno. MS. Arundel, No. 377, fol. 86, v°.

‡ Maluimus enim hæc quam annos Arabum et eorum menses propter difficultatem sequi, eo quod inusitati sint apud nostrates. MS. Arund. ib.

ALFRED.

ALFRED, who by some writers is named the Philosopher, is enumerated by Roger Bacon among those who had translated the Arabian books of science into Latin.* Pits, partly on the authority of Boston of Bury, tells us that he wandered in search of learning through France and Italy, and that at Rome he was received into the family of Cardinal Ottoboni, who made him his chaplain, and brought him to England when he was sent as legate by pope Urban IV. to make peace between Henry III. and his barons. This however cannot be correct, for one of Alfred's principal works, the translation (from the Arabic) of Aristotle's treatise, *De Vegetabilibus et Plantis,* is dedicated to Roger of Hereford, whose contemporary he must have been. In the manuscripts of this book, preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, the author is sometimes named simply Magister Alfredus, and at others Alfredus de Sarchel.† M. Jourdain states reasons for believing that this work was translated in Spain. Pits mentions the titles of several other books attributed to him, most of which are still extant: they are

1. *De Musica,* of which he gives as the first words, *Licet mihi inter meditandum.*

2. *In Boethium de Consolatione Philosophiæ,* in five books, not now known to exist.

3. *In Meteora Aristotelis.* This is preserved in a ma-

* Alii vero, qui infinita in Latinum converterunt, ut Gerardus Cremonensis, Michael Scottus, Aluredus Anglicus, Hermannus Alemannus. Bacon, de Utilitate Linguarum, cited by Jourdain.

† See Jourdain, Recherches critiques sur les Traductions d'Aristote, p. 106.

nuscript in the Royal Library at Paris, where the author's name is corruptly spelt *Alphiolus*.

4. *De Rerum Natura*. M. Jourdain believes this to be the treatis *De Causis Elementorum*, which is found in most of the manuscripts joined to the translation of Aristotle *De Vegetabilibus*, and clearly resembles it in style.

5. *De Motu Cordis*. M. Jourdain thinks this may be the same as a short treatise, evidently translated from the Arabic, which is found under the same title in a MS. in the Royal Library at Paris, MS. Lat. No. 6443.

6. Leland mentions a treatise by this writer (or some person of the same name) *De Educatione Accipitrum*. Perhaps the *Aluredus Anglicus* mentioned by Boston of Bury as cardinal Ottoboni's chaplain, and as the author of the treatise on music and the commentary on Boethius, was a different person from the philosopher.

JORDAN FANTOSME.

Jordan Fantosme, if we may judge from his book, was an Anglo-Norman, and not, as it has been supposed, an Italian. He appears to have been spiritual chancellor of the diocese of Winchester, under bishop Henry de Blois. On the 10th of April, 1160, Richard de Anesly, engaged in a protracted law-suit, found Jordan with the bishop at Fareham near Portsmouth.* Jordan Fantosme was present in the north of England, when that district was invaded by the Scots under William the Lion in 1173 and 1174; and he subsequently wrote an account of this war

* Et inveni episcopum apud Ferham juxta Portesmue, et inde mecum reduxi magistrum Jordanum Fantasma et Nicholaum de Chandos, qui testificarent viva voce quod episcopus ante testificaverat per breve suum. Palgrave, Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, vol. i. part 2, p. lxxviii.

in Anglo-Norman verse. About this period we find him described as a master in the schools at Winchester, and as enjoying an absolute jurisdiction over them, which had been infringed by another 'clerk' of Winchester named John; who had opened a school at Winchester without having obtained a licence from him. The cause between them was tried before the celebrated John of Salisbury, who decided in favour of Jordan Fantosme, and enjoined his opponent to close his school on pain of excommunication.* We have no information as to the date of Jordan's death.

Jordan's historical poem is extant in two manuscripts, preserved in the cathedral libraries of Durham and Lincoln. It commences with the dissension between Henry II. and his son in 1173, and ends with the defeat and capture of William the Lion king of Scotland in 1174. It is not long, extending only to 2,071 lines; but, as a historical document, it is full of interest, and, as a literary composition, it is equal to the best production of the Anglo-Norman trouvères of his age. It is composed in the same long lines, with a multitude of consecutive rhymes, which distinguish the older metrical romances, and of which we have had examples in Guischard de Beaulieu and Thorold. The *naïve* manner in which Jordan Fantosme relates the events of the war, is especially pleasing; as our readers may judge by the following description of the arrival of the messengers who brought to king Henry the first intelligence of the final defeat of the Scots and capture of their king:

Li reis esteit entré en sa chambre demeine,
Quant le message vint; suffert ot mult grant peine:

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* This information is given in a letter of John of Salisbury, Epist. xix. p. 94, which is printed in the preface to M. Michel's edition of the poem, p. xxxvii.

Il n'ot beu ne mangié treis jorz de la semeine,
Ne sumeillié del oil pur la novele certeine;
Mès de jorz e de nuiz d'errer se peine:
Il ad fait mult que sage, il aurad bone estreine.
Li reis iert acuté e un poi sumeilla,
Un vadlet à ses piez, ki suef les grata;
N'i out noise ne cri, ne nuls n'i parla,
Harpe ne viele nul d'ure n'i suna,
Quant li mès vint al us e suef apela.
E dit li chamberlens: "Ki estes-vus là?"
"Messagier sui, amis; or venez plus en çà.
Dan Randulf de Glanvile desque ci m'enveia
Pur parler oue le rei, kar grant mestier en a."
E dit li chamberlens: "Par matin seit l'afaire."
"Par ma fei!" dést li mès, "ainz i parlerai en eire.
Mun seignur ad el cuer e dolur e cuntraire:
Si me laissiez entrer, chamberleng debonaire."
E dit li chamberlens: "Ne l'osereie pas faire.
Li reis est endormiz: ariere vus estut traire."
A ço qu'il parolent s'est li reis esveilliez,
E oïd à cel us crier, "Ovrez! ovrez!"
"Ki est ço?" dist li reis, "à dire me sachiez."
"Sire," dist li chamberlens, "ore endreit le saurez.
Message est de çà nort, très bien le cunuissiez,
Hume Randulf de Glanvile; Brien est apelez."
"Par ma fei!" dist li reis, "ore sui mult trespensez:
Il ad mestier d'aïe, çaenz venir le laissiez."
Li messagier entrad, ki mult fud enseigniez,
E salua le rei, cum jà oïr purrez:
"Sire rei, Deu vus salt qui maint en Trinitez,
Vostre cors en avant, e puis tuz voz privez!"
* * * *
A tant est li message à sun ostel alé,
A mangier e à beivre en ad à grant plenté.
E li reis est si liez la nuit e si haitié,
Qu'il vint as chevaliers, si's ad tuz esveillié:
Baruns, esveilliez-vus: bor vus fud anuitié.
Tele chose ai oïe dunt jo vus frai haitié:
Pris est li reis d'Escoce, ço m'ad l'em dit pur verté.
Ore ainz me vint novele, quant dui estre culchié."

Edition.

Chronicle of the War between the English and the Scots in 1173 and 1174, by Jordan Fantosme. Now first published, with a translation, an introduction, notes, and an appendix, by Francisque Michel. 8vo. London, 1840. (Published by the Surtees Society.)

ODO OF KENT, AND OTHERS.

Odo of Kent was one of the intimate friends of Thomas Becket, and of John of Salisbury, and is mentioned with expressions of great esteem by the latter writer.* He appears first in history in 1172, as prior of Canterbury, when he distinguished himself by a protracted resistance to the attempts of the crown to usurp the right of electing the archbishop.† In 1175, he was made abbot of Battle,‡ and in the time of Leland a handsome marble tomb marked the place of his burial in the abbey church. He died on the 20th or 21st of January, but the year appears to be doubtful; some placing his death in 1176, while better authorities appear to fix it in 1199 or 1200, at which date he must have been an old man.§ As a writer, however, Odo belongs to the reign of Henry II. A letter from him to a person named Adam, whom he had sent to France to study philosophy, but who had retired from the world to enter the monastery of Igny, has been printed by Mabillon,|| and does not convey a very favourable opinion of his judgment. It would be difficult to clear entirely the writings of Odo of Kent from the confusion in which they have been involved by ascribing to him books written by other persons of the name of Odo;

* See the Entheticus, ll. 1675, et seqq.

† Gervase Dorob. ap. Decem Script. col. 1422. Rad. de Diceto, ib. col. 568.

‡ Rad. de Dicet. col. 588. An account of the circumstances attending this promotion is given in the last edition of the Monasticon, vol. iii. p. 235.

§ See Tanner, p. 559. The Monasticon, loc. cit. and Wharton, Angl. Sac. vol. I. p. 138.

|| Analecta, tom. I. p. 349. Epistola ad Adamum Igniacensem quendam fratrem novitium.

but they seem to have consisted chiefly of commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, and of sermons. In a manuscript of the fourteenth century in the British Museum some monastic compiler has arranged in one series the homilies of John of Abbeville, Odo of Kent, and Roger of Salisbury, on the Sunday Gospels throughout the year,* without indicating which belonged to each particular writer, and they resemble each other so much in style and manner that it does not seem possible to distinguish them. They all present one characteristic which is much less common in the writers of sermons at an early date, the frequent illustration of the subject by short stories or fables, some of which are totally irrelevant. The following example is taken at random :†

Quidam rex, ut dicitur, gloriam mundi diligens, fecit pavimentum aulæ suæ, sedilia, ac parietes cortinis pretiosis cooperiri, mensam vero mappa aureisque vasis et argenteis fecit ornari. Sapiens autem quidam, cum inter convivas esset invitatus, et ad mensam regis sederit, circumspexit undique ubi competentius posset spuere. Et cum videret omnia loca ornamentis cooperta, conspuit in barbam regis. In quem statim servi regis circumstantes manus injecerunt. Rex autem non sine ratione sapientem hoc fecisse autumans, sævitiam servientium repressit; et sedatis omnibus quæsitum est a philosopho cur hoc vel sic fecissit. Quibus ille respondit; Cortinas, inquit, et vasa pretiosa intuens, non vidi locum meliorem quam barbam regis pinguedine ciborum perunctam, et ideo in illam conspueram. Sic et tu, si studiose corpus tuum adornaveris in præsenti, cum hiis omnibus in morte spoliatus fueris, dæmones fætido sputo et calido in faciem tuam conspuent in inferno. Ne ergo glorieris, homo, in pulcritudine aliqua, cum lilia agri pulcriora te sint, nec in fortitudine tua, cum asinus fortior te sit; nam majus onus fert asinus ad molendinum quam homo fortissimus.

Leland mentions Odo's Epistles, his book *de Moribus*

* MS. Arundel, No. 231, in 2 vols. Homeliæ magistri Johannis de Abbatisvilla, magistri etiam Odonis de Cantia, et magistri Rogeri de Sarisbiria. At the end, Expliciunt morales expositiones magistri Johannis de Abbatisvilla, magistri etiam Odonis de Cantia, et magistri Rogeri de Sarisbiria, in unum compactæ super Evangelia dominicalia per totum annum. Manuscripts of the sermons of Odo of Kent, separate from the others, appear to be preserved at Oxford.

† MS. Arund. No. 231, vol. II. fol. 50, r°.

Ecclesiasticis, and his treatise in three books *de Vitiis et Virtutibus Animæ*, the latter of which he believes was dedicated to Thomas Becket. Some letters printed in the Spicilegium of D'Acherius under the name of Odo are supposed to belong to Odo of Kent.

Contemporary with Odo of Kent lived Odo de Cirington, a writer whose history is involved in obscurity, but who is known as the author of a curious collection of Esopean fables, with moralizations, which were much used by the Romish preachers in subsequent ages. The earliest manuscript of this book appears to be one preserved in the Arundel library in the British Museum;* later copies are generally much enlarged. The name is variously spelt, Ciringtonia, Syrentona, Ceritona, &c. Some modern writers have called him Odo de Shirton. The following fable will give a notion of the character of the book, which is written in a very unpolished style:

De scrabone et uxore sua.

Scrabo volans per patriam transivit per pulcherrimas arbores florentes, et per pomeria et rosas et lilia, in locis amœnissimis, tandem projecit se in sterquilinium ubi erant stercora equorum, et invenit ibi uxorem suam, quæ quæsivit unde veniret. Et ait scrabo, Circuivi terram et transvolavi eam: vidi flores amigdalarum et liliorum et rosarum, sed nunquam vidi ita locum amœnum sicut iste, demonstrato sterquilinio. ¶ Sic plerique clerici, monachi, laici, audiunt vitas patrum, transeunt per lilias convallium, per rosas martyrum, per violas confessorum, sed nunquam videtur eis ita placidum et ita amœnum sicut meretrix, sicut taberna, sicut exercitium cantuum, quod est sterquilinium fœtidum et congregatio peccatorum. Ideo dicitur in Ecclesiastico ix. Omnis mulier quæ est fornicaria, sicut stercus in via conculcabitur. Maledictus et in naturali talis scrabo, talis impius, cui plus sapit stercus peccati quam Christus, loca diaboli quam ecclesia Dei, stercora arundinum quæ excæcant oculos eorum quam vitas et exempla sanctorum.

This book has sometimes been attributed to Odo of Kent; and, if the sermons mentioned above be really the work of that writer, the similarity of style between the

* MS. Arundel, No. 292, fol. 12. Narrationes magistri de Ciringtonia.

fables introduced in them and those of Odo de Cirington would lead us to suspect that they were the same person.*

Roger of Salisbury, whose sermons are mixed in the Arundel manuscript with those of Odo of Kent, is said to have flourished in 1160, but we know nothing of his personal history. Leland, in his Collectanea,† mentions his Commentary on the Psalter; and a work ascribed to him, or some other person of the same name, with the title *Verborum significationes super librum sententiarum,* was formerly in the library of the church of Peterborough.

DANIEL DE MERLAI.

Daniel de Merlai is supposed by the old bibliographers to have been born at Morley, in Norfolk; and he seems by his own account of himself to have been a native of the diocese of Norwich. In the preface to his treatise *De naturis inferiorum et superiorum,* Daniel informs us that he quitted his native country to pursue his studies at Paris, but that, soon disgusted with the unprofitable studies of the schools in that city, he went thence to Toledo, then the chief seat of learning among the Spanish Arabs. After remaining some time at Toledo, he yielded to the pressing so-

* A further account of the fables of Odo de Cirington will be found in Douce's Illustrations of Shakespeare; Douce calls him " Tutor in theology to the celebrated John of Salisbury," thus taking for granted that he was Odo of Kent. Several of the fables of Odo de Cirington have been printed in " A Selection of Latin Stories from Manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries," edited by the writer of the present volume, pp. 50—52, 55, 57, 58, 80.

† Vol. III. p. 9.

licitations of his friends at home, and returned to England with a "costly multitude of books." Finding, however, that science was neglected in his native land, he was preparing again to travel in search of it, when he met with John bishop of Norwich, who appears to have persuaded him to settle in England, and to whom he dedicated his book. The following extract from Daniel's preface contains all that we know of his personal history:

Cum dudum ab Anglia me causa studii excepissem, et Parisius aliquandiu moram fecissem, videbam quosdam bestiales in scholis gravi auctoritate sedes occupare, habentes coram se scamna duo vel tria et descriptos codices importabiles aureis literis Ulpiani traditiones repræsentantes, necnon et tenentes stilos plumbeos in manibus, cum quibus asteriscos et obelos in libris suis quadam reverentia depingebant; qui dum propter inscientiam suam locum statuæ tenerent, tamen volebant sola taciturnitate videri sapientes, sed tales cum aliquid dicere conabantur infantissimos repperiebam. Cum hoc, inquam, in hunc modum se habere deprehenderem, ne et ego simile damnum incurrerem, artes quæ scripturas illuminant non in transitu salutandas vel sub compendio prætereundas mecum sollicita deliberatione tractabam; sed quoniam doctrina Arabum, quæ in quadruvio fere tota existit, maxime his diebus apud Toletum celebratur, illuc ut sapientiores mundi philosophos audirem festinanter properavi. Vocatus vero tandem ab amicis et invitatus ut ab Hyspania redirem, cum pretiosa multitudine librorum in Angliam veni; cumque nuntiatum esset mihi quod in partibus illis disciplinæ liberales silentium haberent, et pro Ticio et Seio penitus Aristotiles et Plato oblivioni darentur, vehementer indolui, et tamen ne ego solus inter Romanos Græcus remanerem, ubi hujusmodi studium florere didiceram iter arripui, sed in ipso itinere obviam habui dominum meum ac patrem spiritualem Johannem Noruuicensem episcopum, qui me honorifice, ut eum decebat, recipiens, valde meo congratulabatur adventui. Cum itaque, ut fit in primo amicorum conventu, a domino episcopo de mirabilibus et disciplinis Tholetanis satis quæsitum esset, ad ultimum de motibus supercœlestium corporum scrutabundus inquirens, ad astronomiam sermonem direxit.

It appears that this conversation gave rise to the work by which chiefly Daniel de Merlai is known. In the first of the two books into which it is divided, he treats of the creation and nature of matter and of the world. On these subjects he quotes frequently the Arabian and Grecian philosophers, the latter probably through the Arabians.

The following passage, in which he pursues his argument on the priority of matter to creation, will convey a notion of his manner of writing:

Estque materiæ vetitum, ne seipsam componat, aut sibi formam imponat. Quæ cum ita se habeant, necesse est habere genitorem omne genitum, omneque compositum compositorem, discernentem inter genera et species omnium rerum. Compositor vero talis non nisi genitor universitatis Deus esse potest, qui sua sapientia semel et simul unde singula provenirent duas quantum ad distinctionem primordiales, inferiorum videlicet et superiorum materias, ex nihilo creavit, easque ut datam legem ratæ conditionis inviolatam servarent, in ipsa creatione æterno cujusdam divini spiraculi flatu animavit. Hanc enim legem naturam appello, quæ unicuique rei corporeæ secundum subjecti proprietatem, motum, vel quietem disponit. Ista vero quia sine ratione nihil facit, ab anima consilium capit, ita tamen quod neutra sine altera aliquid operetur. Hæc sunt duo instrumenta magni artificis, quæ sicut a magistro didicerunt in his inferioribus omne compositum quadam harmonia componunt, et iterum quadam dissonantia dissolvunt, et tamen hoc totum artifici ascribitur, quia ab artifice hoc originis ducatum sumpserunt. Licet enim aliquis faber suis instrumentis operetur, non tamen instrumentorum sed artificis opus dicitur. Sic quamvis Deus hiis duobus instrumentis ex jam præjacente materia formam mundo præstaverit, non tamen mundus opus naturæ sed opus Dei recte nominatur. Verbi gratia, licet natura, cujus est officium humanam homini imprimere figuram, in utero materno umbram informet, concavet, et disponat, tamen homo propter partem digniorem opus Dei et est et vocatur. Sic et belua, et avis, et hujusmodi.

In the second book he proceeds to treat of the nature and movements of the celestial bodies, and of the influence of the planets; and he gives the following illustration of the power exercised by the moon upon the earth.

Extra muros etenim civitatis Tholeti juxta Tagum in eminentiori quodam loco exuberant duo fontes antiqua paganorum sollertia excogitati, ad quos dum per subterraneas vias aqua artificiali ductu discurrit, tandem per duo stricta foramina erumpens a geminis urnis lapideis est recepta, quas gens Tholetana vulgari vocabulo *conchas* vocat. Cum vero luna plene sui circuitus orbe apparet, prædictæ conchæ usque ad summum impletæ inveniuntur, ita quod nec etiam gutta aquæ exeat, nec majorem copiam alterius aquæ sine effusione sufficiant retinere. Si quis vero quoad mundus stabit aquas inde hauriret, semper in plenilunio conchas abundanti aqua impletas inveniret. Cum autem luna in parte lumine curtatur, ita quod se semiplenam ostendat, aqua in se retrahitur, et ultra medietatem concharum non excrescit. Nec enim siquis tunc totum fluvium Tagi successive prædictis urceolis infunderet, eas impleret, vel saltem in eis aquam augmentaret. Aqua quidem in gustu

salsa repperitur, licet mare ad minus per sex dietas distat a Tholeto. Ex altera vero parte civitatis sunt et alii gemini fontes dulcis aquæ consimili artificio elaborati, qui similiter secundum augmentum et decrementum lunæ augmentantur et decrescunt, et hii quidem fontes manant sub pede cujusdam preciosæ rupis, supra quam mira arte fabricatum est stupendum Galienæ palatium.

Notwithstanding Daniel de Merlai's boast of the superiority of his Arabian philosophy, towards the conclusion of his book he runs into the most puerile superstitions of the astrologers relating to the influence of the planetary positions on men's births, and other events.

We have no other indication of the age at which this writer flourished than the fact of his acquaintance with John of Oxford, who was bishop of Norwich from 1175 to 1200; and if we assume (which is not improbable) that Daniel returned to England soon after John was made bishop, the former date may be taken as that at which he flourished. A good copy of the treatise, which has furnished the foregoing extracts, is preserved in the British Museum (MS. Arundel, No. 377, fol. 88, r°). There are no traces of any other work of the same writer, though Bale attributes to him a treatise in one book, *De principiis mathematicis*.

JOHN OF SALISBURY.

John of Salisbury is perhaps the most celebrated writer of the reign of Henry II. He was probably born in the city from which he took his name, about the year 1120.* In an interesting account of his own studies,

* The year of his birth has been stated to be 1110, for which there is no authority, and which is inconsistent with his own statement that he was *admodum adolescens* in 1136. It has also been asserted that his family

which he gives in the second book of the *Metalogicus*, he tells us that when a mere youth he went to Paris, the year after the death of Henry I. (i. e. 1136), and that he there attended the lectures of Abelard on the mountain of St. Genevieve. After the departure of that philosopher, John attended the schools of Alberic and of Robert de Melun, who, like Abelard, taught chiefly dialectics. He next studied grammar, *i. e.* the writers of antiquity, three years in the school of William de Conches, during which period he informs us that he read much and profitably. Subsequently, in the school of Bernard l'Evêque, he resumed his former course of studies, and entered upon the *quadrivium*, or circle of mathematical and physical sciences, in which he had been initiated under the German Hardeivinus, but for which he seems to have had little taste. About this time, or soon after, he also recommenced under Peter Helias the study of rhetoric, which he had before read rather superficially under a teacher named Theodoric. His poverty at this period compelled John of Salisbury to seek support by instructing young noblemen,* which did not hinder him from continuing his studies with diligence, and he contracted an intimate friendship with his countryman Adam du Petit Pont, who had especially attached himself to the doctrines of Aristotle. William de Soissons had then recently opened a school, and promulgated new philosophical opinions, which John of Salisbury eagerly followed for a while, but he finally re-

name was *Petit*, on the supposition that the word *parvum* in the following passage from his 192nd letter is intended for a pun, of which the evidence is certainly far from conclusive—Sed quantum est hoc quod me totum, id est hominem parvum nomine, facultate minorem, minimum merito vobis deberi profiteor? Nam totum istud pro merito parum est.

* Et quia nobilium liberos, qui mihi amicorum et cognatorum auxiliis destituto, paupertati meæ, solatiante Deo, alimenta præstabant, instruendos susceperam.

jected them as unsatisfactory, and left this new master in order to open a school for himself. He still attended the lectures of Gilbert, supposed to be Gilbert de la Porrée *(Porretanus)*, who, quitting Paris in 1142, appears to have been succeeded first by Robert le Poule,* and next by Simon de Poissy; these, as John of Salisbury informs us, were his instructors in theology only.† In his 267th Epistle he seems to intimate that he had also studied theology under Odo of Kent.

In this manner, John of Salisbury tells us, he spent about twelve years. His account is somewhat confused, but it appears hardly to bear the explanation recently hazarded by professor Petersen, in his edition of the Entheticus,‡ that a portion of this period was spent in England, and that he studied at Oxford. His teaching seems to have been attended with no great success; and, unable longer to struggle with the indigence in which it left him, he sought a shelter in the abbey of Moûtier-la-Celle, in the diocese of Troyes, where he was received in the quality of clerc or chaplain of the abbot, Peter de Celles, who became during the remainder of his life his constant friend and patron.§ His letters contain many allusions to his obligations to Peter de Celles, and strong expressions of his gratitude. About the year 1151, after he had remained three years in the abbey, he returned to England, with letters from Peter de Celles and St. Bernard recommending him to Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, who appointed him his secretary. John soon gained the confidence of his new master, and through him became

* The history of this person is involved in considerable confusion, but I think he must have been teaching in Paris at the time John of Salisbury attended his lectures. See the account of him at p. 182 of the present volume.

† Jo. Sarisb. Metalog. lib. ii. c. 10.

‡ Pp. 73—77.

§ Jo. Sarisb. Epist. 85. Hist. Lit. de Fr. tom. xiv. p. 93.

acquainted with Thomas Becket, at that time chancellor of England, who presented him to the king and employed him in various important missions. He informs us in the *Metalogicus*, written about the year 1160, that he had passed the Alps ten times, been twice in Apulia, treated various affairs at Rome for his masters and friends, and frequently travelled into various parts of England and France.* In the course of these negociations he obtained the friendship of pope Adrian IV. (who was an Englishman), and he brought from Rome the bull by which that pontiff authorized the English monarch to conquer Ireland and reduce it to conformity with the Romish church. He appears however to have lost the king's favour, for a period, in 1160, and to have been obliged to retire to the continent.

When Thomas Becket was made archbishop of Canterbury John of Salisbury was continued in the office of secretary, which he had held under his predecessor Theobald, who had named him to be one of the executors of his will.† He soon became distinguished as one of the stanchest partizans of the new archbishop in his opposition to the crown, and thus became an especial object of the king's aversion. Peter de Blois ‡ calls him the eye and arm of the archbishop. He had preceded Becket in his flight into France, where, deprived of all he had in England, he again suffered under the pressure of poverty, and it is evident that he was urging his friends in England to exert themselves to make his peace with the court in order that he might be enabled to return. The terms offered were that he should promise no longer to give the archbishop his outward support, and that he should swear

* Johan. Sarisb. Metalog. lib. iii. prolog.

† Wharton, Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. xi.

‡ Epist. xxi.

that he had done nothing contrary to the king's dignity during his exile. The pope forbade him to take the oath, under the pretence that he would not allow the acts which he had done in obedience to the church to be brought into question; and he refused himself openly to desert his patron.* He says that although he had always been faithful to the archbishop he often disapproved of his indiscreet zeal—"It is known to the Inspector of hearts and the Judge of words and works, that I blamed the archbishop more frequently and with more asperity than any other mortal, for the things in which from the first he appeared to have provoked indiscreetly by his zeal the king and court to bitterness, when out of regard to the place and time and persons many things might have been allowed." † He concludes by promising that if he might be allowed to return in peace without the two conditions just mentioned, he would "be in future a courtier" *(ero de cætero curialis)*. In one or two other instances, when apparently influenced by the desire of returning from his exile, he speaks thus disapprovingly of Becket's violence; yet at other times he himself exhibits equal bitterness and animosity, and not only speaks continually of the king and his courtiers in the most abusive terms, but lavishes on the English clergy, many of whom had sided with the king, the most revolting epithets—*sacrilegi, adulteri, prædones, fures.*

* Si enim exigeretur a me ut abnegarem archiepiscopum meum, quod nullus suorum fecit adhuc, nec aliquis de tota Anglia, abiit ut acquiescam tantæ turpitudini primus aut ultimus. Epist. 150, addressed to the bishop of Exeter.

† Novit enim cordium Inspector et verborum Judex et operum, quod sæpius et asperius quam aliquis mortalium corripuerim dominum archiepiscopum de his in quibus ab initio dominum regem et suos zelo quodam inconsultius visus est ad amaritudinem provocasse, cum pro loco et tempore et personis multa fuerint dispensanda.` *Ib.*

During his exile, John of Salisbury was actively employed in the cause of his patron, and made more than one journey to Rome. Filled with joy at the reconciliation of the archbishop and the king in 1170, he was one of the first to hasten back to his native country;* but he continued to support Becket in all his proceedings, and in the closing catastrophe he is said to have been destined to the same fate, had he not escaped by a mistake of the assassins, who took another person for him, after Becket's death. John of Salisbury continued attached to the new archbishop, Richard, whose cause he espoused with zeal when the court was opposed to his election.

In 1176, John of Salisbury was made bishop of Chartres, a dignity which he owed chiefly to his signal zeal in the cause of Thomas Becket, in testimony of which he sometimes wrote at the head of his charters, *Johannes divina dignatione et meritis S. Thomæ Carnotensis ecclesiæ minister humilis.*† He was consecrated in the month of August, by Maurice archbishop of Paris. He lived to enjoy this dignity only four years, dying at Chartres on the 25th of October 1180.‡ He was succeeded by his old friend Peter de Celles. It appears that while bishop of Chartres John was accused of having been rendered proud and arrogant by his advancement.

As a writer, John of Salisbury is estimable for his great erudition, and for the general correctness of his style. We learn from his own writings that his favourite pursuits were grammar and rhetoric, *i. e.* the study of the ancient writers, and he quotes several who are no longer extant. His style is however sometimes confused. He seems to have had little taste for scientific studies; and he appears

* See Epist. 279 and 280.

† Hist. Lit. de Fr. tom. xiv. p. 96.

‡ Sufficient reasons for adopting this date instead of 1181 are given in the Hist. Lit. de Fr. tom. xiv. p. 97.

less as a philosopher himself than as a critic of the systems of the various sects of antiquity, as well as of those of the age in which he lived. He avows a strong leaning towards the doctrines of the Peripatetics.

John of Salisbury appears to have been chiefly occupied in literary labours during the period when he was secretary to archbishop Theobald, and they seem all to have had the same object, to expose the corruptions of the age, and show the humanizing influence of philosophy and scholastic studies. The *Polycraticus*, one of the most celebrated productions of the middle ages, which appears to have been written partly in England and partly during a mission into Italy, is said to have been completed in 1156,* although it must have been re-touched in some parts during the subsequent years. The full title of this work is *Polycraticus de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum ;* by *vestigia philosophorum* he means that portion of the doctrines of the philosophers which was worthy to be followed and adopted, and the *nugæ* were the vain occupations and pursuits by which the larger portion of mankind was then influenced. In a poetical introduction bearing the title of *Eutheticus*, addressed to Thomas Becket, then chancellor of England, the author says that these *nugæ* or vain pursuits occupied and pervaded almost every class of his contemporaries.

> Omnia, si nescis, loca sunt plenissima nugis,
> Quarum tota cohors est inimica tibi.
> Ecclesia nugæ regnant, et principis aula ;
> In claustro regnant, pontificisque domo.
> In nugis clerus, in nugis militis usus,
> In nugis juvenes, totaque turba senum ;
> Rusticus in nugis, in nugis sexus uterque,
> Servus et ingenuus, dives, egenus in his.

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* MCLVI. Johannes Salisbiriensis scripsit Polycraticum suum. Chron. Jo. Abbatis S. Petri de Burgo, ap. Sparke, p. 78.

In the first chapter of this work its author points out the dangers attendant upon honours and riches, and the moral intoxication to which they lead. The poisoning seductions which accompany prosperity are the greatest enemies to truth and virtue. He states briefly the duties which are imposed on us by nature, reason, justice, &c., and then proceeds to treat at length on the pleasures and vanities which were allowed to take their place. At the head of the list stand the pleasures of the chase, which in the time of John of Salisbury was a great source of extravagance and luxury to the great, and no less an instrument of oppression and injustice towards the lower classes of society. He next treats of the use and abuse of dice; of music and musical instruments, and of different classes of actors and minstrels, or jogelours. Of these he observes, after speaking of the minstrelsy of Nero,—

Eum vero adhuc aliqui pro parte imitantur, etsi fœditate illius nemo dignetur involvi; cum gratiam suam histrionibus et mimis multi prostituant, et in exhibenda malitia eorum cæca quadam et contemptibili munificentia non tam mirabiles quam miserabiles faciunt sumptus. Illa tamen ætas (ut sic interim dicam) honestiores habuit histriones: si tamen aliquo modo honestum est, quod omni homine libero comprobatur indignum. Nec tamen histrionem assero turpiter in arte sua versari, etsi indubitanter turpe sit esse histrionem. Et quidem histriones erant, qui gestu corporis arteque verborum et modulatione vocis factas aut fictas historias sub aspectu publico referebant, quos apud Plautum invenis et Menandrum, et quibus ars nostri Terentii innotescit. Porro comicis et tragicis abeuntibus, cum omnia levitas occupaverit, clientes eorum, comœdi videlicet et tragœdi, exterminati sunt. Sed eos in servili conditione duntaxat plerumque reperies. Quis vero eorum usus extiterit, poetica docens aperit:

Aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare, poetæ,
Aut jucunda simul et idonea dicere vitæ.

At nostra ætas, prolapsa ad fabulas et quævis inania, non modo aures et cor prostituit vanitati, sed oculorum et aurium voluptate suam mulcet desidiam, luxuriam accendit, conquirens undique fomenta vitiorum. Nonne piger desidiam instruit et somnos provocat instrumentorum suavitate; aut vocum modulis, hilaritate canentium; aut fabulantium gratia; sive, quod turpius est, ebrietate vel crapula? Artem utique elegantiorem docuit Flaccus,

——— ter uncti
Transnanto Tyberim, somno quibus est opus alto.

Ait quoque concionator, Dulcis est somnus operanti, sive parum sive multum comedat. Exercitatio siquidem parit et alit quietis gratiam, quæ otii continuatione et quodam inertiæ suæ marcore perimitur. Utique in desideriis est omnis otiosus, cum et otiositas inimica sit animæ et de domicilio ejus omnia studia virtutis eliminet. Clamat ethicus,

> Cernis ut ignavum corrumpant otia corpus,
> Et capiant vitium ni moveantur aquæ.

Quod? inquis. Audi. Disces si eidem credideris.

> Quæritur Ægisthus quare sit factus adulter;
> Causa est in promptu, desidiosus erat.

Literatissimi ergo viri consilium est, ut hostis te semper inveniat occupatum, quo variis tentationibus ejus occupationum tuarum clypeos tam feliciter quam prudenter opponas. Vitanda est, inquit ethicus, improba siren desidia. At eam nostris prorogant histriones. Exoccupatis etenim mentibus surrepunt tædia, seseque non sustinerent, si non alicujus voluptatis solatio mulcerentur. Admissa sunt ergo spectacula et infinita tyrocinia vanitatis, quibus qui omnino otiari non possunt perniciosius occupantur. Satius enim fuerat otiari, quam turpiter occupari. Hinc mimi, salii, vel saliares, balatrones, æmiliani, gladiatores, palæstritæ, gignadii, præstigiatores, malefici quoque multi, et tota joculatorum scena procedit.

The foregoing extract affords a fair specimen of John of Salisbury's general style. He proceeds in the sequel to declaim on the vanity of magic, soothsaying, sorcery, and the observance of signs, omens, and dreams. The subject of omens and dreams is continued through the second book. It is there shown that all prognostications and signs of future events are not to be despised, and many examples are cited, more especially that of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the history of which event, taken chiefly from Josephus, occupies several chapters. From the consideration of prognostications the author proceeds to the interpretation of dreams, and the science of astrology, and to some theological questions arising out of this part of his subject. The third book of the *Polycraticus* is much more brief, and, commencing with the consideration of man's nature and position in society and of the wickedness of pride and avarice, is chiefly devoted to the subject of flatterers and parasites.

It ends with a chapter on tyrants, a subject which is continued in the fourth book. John of Salisbury openly preaches the doctrine that a tyrant is the enemy of society, and that it is the duty of individuals to slay him, but he reserves to the ecclesiastical body alone the right of judging who might be worthy of the name, and of giving the order for his destruction. This dangerous doctrine, which the church of Rome has ever been too eager to promulgate and to act upon, is nowhere stated with more boldness than in the present work, and is the more remarkable because it comes so directly from the pen of the zealous partizan of Thomas Becket. A king, he says, is but a servant of the priesthood, and inferior to the clergy:

Hunc ergo gladium de manu ecclesiæ accipit princeps, cum ipsa tamen gladium sanguinis omnino non habeat. Habet tamen et istum: sed eo utitur per principis manum, cui coercendorum corporum contulit potestatem, spiritualium sibi in pontificibus autoritate reservata. Est ergo princeps sacerdotii quidem minister, et qui sacrorum officiorum illam partem exercet quæ sacerdotii manibus videtur indigna. Sacrarum namque legum omne officium religiosum et pium est; illud tamen inferius, quod in pœnis criminum exercetur, et quandam carnificii repræsentare videtur imaginem. Unde et Constantinus Romanorum fidelissimus imperator, cum sacerdotum concilium Niceam convocasset, nec primum locam tenere ausus est, nec se presbyterorum immiscere consessibus, sed sedem novissimam occupavit. Sententias vero quas ab eis approbatas audivit, ita veneratus est ac si eas de divinæ majestatis sensisset emanasse judicio. Sed et libellos inscriptionum, quos adinvicem conceptos sacerdotum crimina continentes imperatori porrexerant, suscepit quidem clausosque reposuit in sinu suo. Cum autem eosdem ad charitatem et concordiam revocasset, dixit sibi, tanquam homini et qui judicio subjaceret sacerdotum, illicitum esse Deorum examinare causas, qui non possunt nisi a solo Deo judicari; libellosque quos receperat non inspectos dedit incendio, fratrum veritus crimina vel convitia publicare, et Cham reprobi filii maledictionem incurrere qui patris verenda non texit. Unde et in scriptis Nicolai Romani pontificis idem dixisse narratur, Vere si propriis oculis vidissem sacerdotem Dei, aut aliquem eorum qui monachico habitu circumamicti sunt, peccantem, chlamydem meam explicarem et cooperirem eum ne ab aliquo videretur.

In other respects our author gives good counsel to princes on their duties towards their subjects and the

state. In the fifth book he continues to treat of the regal dignity, and on its moral obligations. The sixth book treats chiefly on the armed portion of the community, or the knights, of its duties and privileges, and of the corruptions which pervaded that and all other classes of society in his time, with interesting allusions to contemporary history. In the twenty-fourth chapter of this book, John of Salisbury relates a conversation which he had with pope Adrian IV. on the causes of the corruptions of the church, when on a friendly visit to that pontiff at Beneventum. The seventh and eighth books of the *Polycraticus* are both long. The author now proceeds to discuss the tenets of the ancient philosophers on the subject of virtue, and confesses his preference for those of the Academics. He then describes the vices most prevalent at court, and most dangerous to the state, deplores men's errors, and shows virtue to be the true road to happiness. He contrasts true glory with false glory, avarice with liberality, the love of power with the love of liberty, gluttony with temperance, incontinence with chastity; and, finally, he returns to the subject of tyranny, and to the duty of slaying tyrants.

A metrical treatise by John of Salisbury, entitled, *Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum*, of which a good edition has been recently published by professor Petersen of Hamburgh, gives us a favourable opinion of the author's skill in versification, and resembles closely in its object the *Polycraticus*, except that it commences by comparing the doctrines of the philosophers, and ends with lamenting the vices of the court and of the age. Professor Petersen adduces reasons for believing that this poem was written in 1160; and, like the former work, it was dedicated to the chancellor, Thomas Becket. It is valuable because, while in the *Polycraticus* John of Salisbury attacks the

vices and errors of his age in general, he here holds up to obloquy those of individuals; but the satire is rendered obscure by the circumstance of his having concealed the real objects of his aspersion under fictitious names. In the following lines he describes the doctrines of Epicurus:

Sobrius exaudit leges Epicurus, et idem
  Ebrius est veneri subditus atque gulæ.
Hic faber incudem, quam circumvallat inani,
  Figit in incerto, cætera casus agit.
Conflat in immensum corpuscula casus acervum,
  Ut fiat mundi maximus iste globus;
Fixaque sint elementa locis sub lege perenni,
  Utque vices peragant tempora certa suas.
Hæc quoque secta docet, animam cum carne perire,
  Et frustra leges justitiamque coli.
Flatibus assimulat subtilia corpora mentes,
  Mentiturque piis præmia nulla dari.
Quid deceat, nescit; Venus, alea, somnus, odores,
  Crassa culina, jocus, otia, vina juvant.
Istis addantur plausus, fallacia, nugæ,
  Et quicquid mimus, histrio, scurra probant.

The following extract will serve to show the manner in which the courtiers of Henry II. are treated in this poem. It is uncertain who was intended by the appellation of Sporus.

Exigit a cunctis munuscula Sporus, at illa
  Si dederis, perdes; nil dabis, hostis eris.
Si sit amicus, obest; si non sit, quærit obesse;
  Quidquid agas, oberit, aut volet esse nocens.
Rem fortasse tuam poteris servare, sed ejus
  A vitiis animum non revocare potes.
Munus amicitiæ speciem producit, at ipsam
  Rem gignit virtus vera, probatque fides.
Augetur tamen obsequiis, sumitque vigorem,
  Nam probitas meritis præmia digna refert.

At the time when this poem was composed, its author seems to have been in disfavour with the king, which will perhaps account for the bitterness of his satire. About the same time he is supposed to have written the *Metalogicus*,

which is hardly inferior in importance to the *Polycraticus*. The object of this work was to vindicate the philosophical studies of the schools against the sneers and outcries of ignorant people, and more especially against a self-sufficient sect whom he calls Cornificians. It ends with a long lamentation on the miseries of the age. This work, which consists of six books, contains valuable materials for the history of scholastic philosophy during the twelfth century, and furnishes portraits of the leaders of the different sects, by one who had lived and studied in their society.

Next in importance to the works just described are the letters of John of Salisbury, of which a considerable number are preserved. Upwards of three hundred were printed at Paris by Jean Masson in 1611; and others have been since printed among the letters of Thomas Becket, and in other publications. These letters are of the greatest importance for the history of the period during which John of Salisbury held the office of secretary to the archbishops of Canterbury.

In 1163, Thomas Becket, then archbishop of Canterbury, was taking steps to obtain the canonization of his predecessor, Anselm, and with this object he employed John of Salisbury to write an abridged life of that prelate, which was presented to the pope at the council of Tours, in the month of May. Becket's disputes with his sovereign hindered the further prosecution of this object; but the life of Anselm is preserved, and has been printed by Wharton.

John of Salisbury also wrote a life of Thomas Becket, which has been supposed to be preserved only in the abridgment inserted in the *Quadrilogus*, or life by four authorities, compiled in the fourteenth century by order of pope Gregory XI. There is a MS. life of Becket, purporting to be by John of Salisbury, in the Bodleian library, MS. Laud. F. 14.

Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul are also attributed to John of Salisbury, which are preserved in manuscript, but are found under the names of different writers. A Pœnitentiale said to have been compiled by him occurs in the Bodleian Library. To his poetical compositions, we may add a metrical version of the fable of the members which conspired against the stomach, commencing with the lines:

Concilium celebrant humani corporis artus
Inter se, de se plurima verba serunt.

The titles of several other books, ascribed to John of Salisbury by the older bibliographers, are either made from different subjects treated in the Polycraticus, or founded in errors of other kinds.

Editions.

Hic liber ĩtitulatur de nug' curialiũ & vestigiis ph'or' cui' Johannes Salesberiensis Carnotẽsis epũs fuit actor. fol. Supposed to have been printed at Cologne or Brussels about the year 1475. At the end is the poem De membris corporis quomodo adversus stomachum conspiraverant.

Johãnis Saresberiẽsis Policraticus de nugis curialiũ et vestigijs ph'or' continẽs libros octo (at the head of the first page). At the end, Iohannis Saresberiensis, policraticus de nugis curialium & vestigijs philosophorum, in octo partitus libros partiales: finitur curauit imprimi honestus vir Constantinus fradin bibliopola Anno d'ni M.ccccc. & .xiij. Extrema manus apposita fuit eodẽ anno .xvij. Kalendas Maij.

Policratici contenta, festiuũ opus: & omni statui delectabile lectu: quod intitulatur Policraticũ, De nugis curialiũ et vestigiis philosopho' Joãnis Salesberiensis doctissimi sane & eloquẽtissimi viri, exemplar vnde excusum est emẽdatissimũ et annotationib' marginalib' adiutũ: prestãte et emissionẽ p.curãte gravissimo doctissimoq' patre confessore regis .... Venale in vico sancti Jacobi in Sole aureo: et in Lilio aureo apud beniuolos mercatores magr'm Bertholdũ Rẽbolt. & Joãnẽ paruũ. At the end, ¶ Finit opus preclarũ Policratici De nugis curialiũ, & vestigiis philosophorũ: cui' Ioãnes Salesberiẽsis actor fuit. In Sole aureo vici sancti Iacobi. Impressum Parrhisi' opera et expẽsis magistri Bertholdi Rembolt, & Ioãnis parui. Anno domini M.D.xiii. Die vero xxv. Maij. 4to.

The writer of the article on John of Salisbury in the Histoire Littéraire de France has stated erroneously that the Metalogicus was joined with this edition.

Joannis Saresberiensis Policraticus: sive de nugis curialium, et vestigiis philosophorum, Libri octo. Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Plantiniana. 1595. 8vo.

Joannis Saresberiensis Metalogicus. E codice MS. Academiæ Cantabrigiensis, nunc primum editus. Parisiis, apud Hadrianum Beys, Viâ Jacobæa. 1610. 8vo.

The Epistles of John of Salisbury printed with those of Gerbert and Stephen of Tournay, by Masson, 4to. Paris, 1611.

Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, et Antiquorum Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, Tomus Decimusquintus, sive Supplementum, vel Appendix. Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1622. fol. pp. 338-498, Joannis Saresberiensis Policraticus: sive de nugis curialium, et vestigiis philosophorum, libri octo.—pp. 498—612, Epistolæ Joannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis, studio et industria Papyrii Massoni in lucem editæ.

An edition of the Metalogicus is said to have been printed at Leyden, in 1630, but this is perhaps an error, as the edition of 1639, printed at the same place, is stated in the title to be the second.

According to Fabricius, the portion of the Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul which relates to the Epistle to the Collossians was printed in 1630.

Joannis Saresberiensis Policraticus, sive de nugis curialium, et vestigiis philosophorum, libri octo. Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Joannis Maire. 1639. 8vo. To this edition is added, Joan. Saresberiensis Metalogicus, e codice manuscripto Academiæ Cantabrigiensis. Editio altera, priore accuratior et emendatior.

The Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, attributed to John of Salisbury, are said to have been printed at Amsterdam, 4to. 1646.

The Eutheticus (or metrical introduction to the Polycraticus) and the poem De membris conspirantibus, were printed with a poem by Fulbert of Chartres, by Andreas Rivinus, Lips. 1655, 8vo.

Johannis Saresberiensis Policraticus, with the Metalogicus, Amsterdam, 1664, small 8vo.

Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum. Tomus Vigesimus Tertius. Lugduni, 1677, fol. pp. 242—409. Johannis Sarisbiriensis Policraticus, sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum, libri octo.—pp. 410—535. Epistolæ Joannis Sarisberiensis episcopi Carnotensis.

Epistolæ et Vita divi Thomæ Martyris et Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis .. opera et studio F. C. Lupi. Bruxellis, 1682, 4to. Ninety-three letters of John of Salisbury are printed in this volume.

Anglia Sacra, sive Collectio Historiarum antiquitus scriptarum de archiepiscopis et episcopis Angliæ. (by Henry Wharton.) Pars Secunda. Londini, 1691, fol. pp. 151—176. Vita S. Anselmi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, authore Johanne Sarisburiensi episcopo Carnotensi.

Martene, Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum, Tomus Primus. Lutet. Paris. 1717, fol. coll. 596, 597, 602, 604. A charter and three previously inedited letters of John of Salisbury.

Jo. Ålb. Fabricii Bibliotheca Latina Mediæ et Infimæ ætatis. Patavii, 1754, tom. iv. p. 296. Joannis Saresberiensis de Membris Conspirantibus.
Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France. Tome seixième. Par Michel-Jean-Joseph Brial. A Paris, 1814. fol. pp. 488—625, Joannis Saresberiensis, qui fuit Carnotensis episcopus, epistolæ cvi.
Johannis Saresberiensis Entheticus, de Dogmate Philosophorum, nunc primum editus et commentariis instructus a Christiano Petersen. Hamburgi, 1843. 8vo.

Translation.

A French translation of the Polycraticus, by Mezerai, under the title, Vanités de la Cour, par Jean de Sarisbéry, is said to have been printed at Paris in 1640, 4to. but no copy appears now to be known to exist.

ADAM DU PETIT PONT.

This celebrated teacher in the university of Paris was an Englishman by birth, as we learn from the writings of his friend, John of Salisbury. He studied at Paris under Matthew of Angers and Peter Lombard, and he afterwards opened a school near the Petit Pont, from which he took his name. He taught chiefly grammar and logic, and was so warm an advocate of the method of Aristotle that he was sometimes designated by the name of Adam the Peripatetic. John of Salisbury accuses him of having introduced a refined subtilty of reasoning which degenerated into a system of quibbling. Adam was subsequently made a canon of Nôtre Dame, after which he taught only theology. We know few dates or facts in the life of this eminent scholar; but he was at the council of Paris under pope Eugene III. in 1147, when the opinions of Gilbert de la Porrée were condemned; and he went to the Lateran council in 1179 to defend his old teacher, Peter Lombard. Previous to this latter date he had settled in England,

and in 1176 he was made bishop of St. Asaph's. He died in 1180.

No fragment of the writings of Adam du Petit Pont is preserved. John of Salisbury speaks of him as a man of great learning, and mentions his book entitled *Ars Disserendi*, which he says was written in a confused and intricate style. Pits and Bale ascribe to him four books of commentaries on Peter Lombard, and some other works, which are, perhaps, mere suppositions of those inaccurate bibliographers.*

GIRARD LA PUCELLE.

GIRARD LA PUCELLE (in Latin *Girardus Puella*) was one of the most celebrated professors of the university of Paris in the latter half of the twelfth century.† Roger of Croyland, one of the earlier writers of the life of Thomas Becket, states that he was an Englishman;‡ and he appears to have entered the church at an early age. He is said to have taught at Paris, with occasional and long interruptions, from 1160 to 1177, and he enjoyed the especial esteem of the French king, which however he lost by suddenly quitting Paris to establish himself at Cologne, then the seat of a schism in the church raised by the archbishop, Rainold. The church was much scandalised by the public secession of an ecclesiastic of so much

* Compare on this writer, John of Salisbury, Metalog. lib. ii. c. 10, lib. iii. c. 3, and lib. iv. c. 3, and the Entheticus, p. 2, 3, with Prof. Petersen's notes, with the article in the Hist. Lit. de France, tom. xiv. p. 189.

† We know his personal history chiefly from some letters in the collection of those of Thomas Becket. See the article in the Hist. Lit. de Fr. tom. xiv. p. 301.

‡ Roger. Croiland, in Quadrilog. cited by Tanner.

celebrity as Girard, and, although he declared that he had not joined the party of the schismatics, every effort was made to withdraw him from intercourse with them. He at length, partly by the intervention of Becket, obtained permission to settle in England; but his stay there was short, for he almost immediately returned to Cologne, and accepted a benefice from the schismatic archbishop. For this act, which amounted to an avowal of his approbation of the schismatics, Girard was excommunicated by the pope; yet Becket and his other friends again interfered, and he was prevailed upon to make a public declaration that he condemned the schism, and to resign all the benefices he had received at Cologne, on condition of being absolved from the sentence of excommunication and being permitted to return to his school at Paris. He appears to have quickly regained the favour of the pope (Alexander III.) who in 1176 granted in his favour a bull which gave ecclesiastical professors in the schools the privilege of non-residence on their church benefices, and a letter of the same pontiff, dated the 15th of March, 1178, confirms to him the benefices which he had previously received of the schismatics of Cologne. In 1177, at the invitation of Richard archbishop of Canterbury, he came again to England, and remained attached to that prelate's household until 1182 or 1183, when he was made bishop of Coventry, or, as the see was then sometimes called, Chester, the two sees being then joined in one. He died at Coventry on the 13th of January, 1184, and was buried in his cathedral.

All the early historians who mention Girard la Pucelle agree in extolling his great learning and eloquence, and Roger of Croyland distinctly speaks of his writings; yet we have now no other trace of their existence, and if the writer of the notice of Girard in the Histoire Littéraire

de France be correct in ascribing to him the 183rd letter of the collection of epistles of Thomas of Canterbury, (published under the name of John of Salisbury), it is the only document extant which came from his pen.

BARTHOLOMEW BISHOP OF EXETER.

Bartholomew of Exeter was one of the most learned theologians of the reign of Henry II. He appears to have been a native of Brittany,* and he probably studied at Paris. We hear of him first as archdeacon of Exeter, of which see he was chosen bishop in 1160. The king seems to have been opposed to his nomination, until appeased by Theobald archbishop of Canterbury. We learn from the writers of the time that Bartholomew was remarkable for his great piety. He was the prelate in whom Thomas of Canterbury and John of Salisbury placed their entire confidence, and to whom during their exile they sent all their instructions; yet he appears to have acted with so much prudence that he never compromised himself with the court, and, after Becket's death, the king employed him as his chief adviser in ecclesiastical affairs. His death is stated by Roger Hoveden † to have occurred in 1184; by the Winchester annalist ‡ it is placed in 1186; and Walter Mapes in his work *de Nugis Curialium,* written apparently at the end of the year 1187, speaksof him as still alive and occupied in literary pursuits, although advanced in years.§

* See Jo. Salisb. Epist. 169.

† Roger Hoveden, Annal. p. 623.

‡ Annal. Winton. ap. Wharton, Ang. Sac. vol. i. p. 302.

§ Bartholomæus Exoniensis episcopus, vir senex et facundus, hoc tempore scribit. W. Map. de Nug. Curial. Dist. i. c. 12.

Giraldus Cambrensis speaks of Bartholomew of Exeter as one of the great luminaries of his country;* yet his writings, most of which appear to be lost, were of no great importance. The work by which his name is best known is a penitential, compiled, it may be supposed, chiefly for the use of his own diocese. Several copies of this work are preserved; † it consists entirely of extracts from previous works of the same description, and from the canons and constitutions of the church. His Dialogue against the Jews, which was dedicated to his friend Baldwin bishop of Worcester, is preserved in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library. Four letters of Baldwin bishop of Exeter are found among the Epistles of John of Salisbury.‡ Leland ascribes to him a treatise *De Prædestinatione et Libero Arbitrio,* which is perhaps the same as that mentioned by Tanner under the title *De Fatalitate et Fato* as being dedicated to Baldwin bishop of Worcester, and which appears to be preserved in a manuscript in Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Bale and Pits give the titles of other works, some of which are certainly not by this Bartholomew. The chief of these are a book of sermons said to have commenced with the words, *Tollite jugum meum super vos,* and a discourse on the death of Thomas Becket, beginning with the words, *Secundum multitudinem dolorum.*

* Girald. Cambren. ap. Wharton. Ang. Sac. vol. ii. p. 425.

† There is one in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Faustina A. VIII.

‡ Epp. 291, 295, 297, 298.

JOHN DE HAUTEVILLE.

John de Hauteville was one of the most remarkable Latin poets of the twelfth century; yet we know so little of his personal history that even his name has been the subject of many doubts. The old bibliographers call him Hanwill, Annævillanus, and Hantvillensis; and the writers of the Histoire Littéraire de France give him the name of Hantville, and suppose that he was a native of the hamlet of Anville, near Evreux. There can be no doubt however from the authority of the manuscripts that the name should be Hauville or Hauteville. One of the manuscripts in the British Museum calls him Johannes de Alvilla;* another calls him Johannes de Havvilla;† and a third says he was of "Auville beside Rouen."‡ The name John de Eigham, which has also been given to this writer, originated in an error of some person who mistook the name of a possessor of the manuscript in which the poem of John de Hauteville is contained, for that of the author.§ This poem is a singular satire on the manners of the age, and is dedicated to Walter de Coûtances, who is described as then exchanging the bishopric of Lincoln for the archbishopric of Rouen, a circumstance which fixes the date of the composition of the poem to

* MS. Harl. No. 4066, Incipit Architrenius magistri Johannis de Alvilla.

† MS. Cotton. Vespas. B. XIII. Magister Johannes de Havvilla composuit istum librum de peregrino Johannis, et eundem librum nominavit Architrenium.

‡ MS. Reg. 15. C. V. Istum librum fecit Johannes de Auuilla juxta Rothemagum existente ducatu Normanniæ sub rege Anglico.

§ MS. Cotton. Vespas. B. XIII. Liber fratris Johannis de Eighom (*or*, Erghom) in quo subscripta continentur. A list of the contents of the volume follows.

the year 1184. Several allusions in the poem would lead us to believe that its author had passed a part of his life in England: but there appears to be no evidence for the assertions of former biographers that John de Hauteville was educated in this island, or that he was a monk of St. Alban's.

The only poem known to have been written by John de Hauteville bears for title the name of its hero, Architrenius, a personage who is introduced lamenting perpetually over the miseries and vices of mankind. The Latinity and versification are often respectable, and sometimes approach to purity and elegance; but its author falls into the common vice of the medieval poets, of dwelling so long on his images and descriptions that they become extremely tedious. In the greater number of manuscripts, the poem is prefaced by a brief prologue or argument in prose, stating the plan of the work. The poem itself, which commences with these lines,—

> Velificatur Athos, dubio mare ponte ligatur,
> Remus arat colles, pedibus substernitur unda,

opens with some general observations on the vice of sloth, and on others which arise out of it, from which the writer suddenly turns to address Walter de Coûtances, to whom the book is dedicated—

> O cujus studio, quo remige, navigat æstu
> Mundanoque mari tumidis exempta procellis
> Linconiæ sedes, o quem non præterit æqui
> Calculus, o cujus morum redolentia cœlum
> Spondet, et esse nequit virtus altissima major,
> Indivisa minor, cujus se nomen et astris
> Inserit, et famæ lituo circumsonat orbem.
> O quem Rotomagi sedes viduata maritum
> Sperat et aspirat, solidisque amplexibus ardet
> Astrinxisse virum, fragrantis odoribus uti
> Morum deliciis, virtutis aromate, sponsi
> Pectore, quod Phœbum redolet, quod Nestora pinget, &c.

When the poet has concluded his eulogy of the new archbishop, Architrenius is first introduced, as a youth just arrived at years of maturity; he passes in review the various circumstances of his life, and laments that so little of it has been devoted to virtue. He breaks into loud complaints against Nature, who has made him weak and liable to temptations, and he determines to set out on foot in search of her, and beg her assistance to enable him to contend with them. On his way he first arrives at the palace of Venus, where he finds the goddess surrounded with young damsels, whose hearts she inflames. The description of one of the companions of Venus, who excelled in beauty all the rest, occupies the latter part of the first book and the earlier portion of the second, each particular member or part of the body forming the subject of a separate chapter. The description of Cupid and of his dress, which follows, is alike long and tedious. Architrenius, pursuing his pilgrimage, arrives at the abode of gluttony, and the poet indulges in severe satire on the prevalence of this vice in his days. The questions which chiefly attracted the attention of gourmands, and the eagerness with which they were discussed, are told in some elegant lines:

Inter ventricolas versatur quæstio, pisce
Quis colitur meliore lacus, quis fertilis aer
Alitibus, quæ terra feras producat edules;
Quos assare cibos, quos elixare, palati
Luxuries discincta velit, quæ fercula molli
Jure natent, quæ sicca gulæ trudantur averno;
Qua juris jactura meri redimatur in unda,
Quot capiat factura modos, quo fœdere nodet
Appositos mixtura cibos, quo frixa paratu
Exacuant gustus, quæ corpora cura nepotum
Dictet aromatico panis mandare supulchro,
Quæ novitas adjecta cibis epulonis acutum
Commendet studium; nam quævis prima voluptas
Delitias novitate capit; nam gratia rebus

Prompta novis, preciumque venit, præcepsque bonorum
Gloria, temporibus recipit fragmenta favoris.
Quidque dapes variæ prosunt, possintne cadentem
Erexisse famem, nam prona paratibus iisdem
Occurrit facies, recipit fomenta ciborum
Alternata fames, diversaque fercula gustus
Invitant, similesque creant fastidia mensæ.

The wines are a subject of no less anxious discussion than the meats, and were the cause of still greater excesses, in which the natives of our island are more especially accused of indulging. The following lines describe an English drinking party in the twelfth century:—

Consedere duces, et Bacchi stante corona
Surgit ad os pateræ dominus septemplicis Ajax
Anglicus, et calice similis contendit Ulixes.
Hæc ibi funduntur Baccho præconia, tales
Multiplicat plausus plebes devota refertis
Incubuisse ciphis, erroris prodiga, mente
Saucia languenti, rationis dedita sacrum
Extinxisse jubar, rapido submersa Lyeo.
Ergo vacante cipho distincto gutture *uuesheil*
Ingeminant, *uuesheil*. Labor est plus perdere vini
Quam sitis, exhaurire merum studiosius ardent
Quam exhaurire sitim ; commendativa Lyei
Est sitis, et candens calices iterare palatum
Imperiosa jubet, ad Bacchi munera dextras
Blandius invitat ; pluris sunt pocula, pluris
Ariditate sitis, Bacchusque ad vota perustæ
Candentisque gulæ recipit crementa favoris.

The author turns from the picture of gluttony to the praise of sobriety, and describes the frugal table of Philemon and Baucis. Architrenius meanwhile pursues his way, and at the end of the second book he arrives at Paris, which was then, by the celebrity of its university, looked upon as the centre of learning in Europe. The third book is almost entirely occupied with the miseries and sufferings of the scholars, and affords an interesting picture of scholastic life at this early period. The poet describes the poverty and personal appearance of the students:—

Non coluisse comam studio delectat arantis
Pectinis, errantique viam monstrasse capillo;
Languenti stomacho nitidi non sentit egestas
Cultus delicias, dissuada libidinis odit
Pectinis arte coli, formæ contenta venusto
Quam natura dedit; major depellere pugnat
Sollicitudo famem, graviorem gentis erynnim,
Quæ Thetim ore bibens animo bibit ebria Phœbum.

He dwells on the meanness of their dress, on their bad lodgings, spare nourishment, and hard beds, on the baseness of those who served them, the excessive labour required to become master of the seven arts; he pictures them, after having spent a great part of the night in study, roused from their sleep before daylight to attend the lectures of the masters, treated there with continual rudeness, and finally, after having surmounted all the difficulties of their path, obliged to see the rewards and honours for which they were striving distributed with unjust partiality on those who have least deserved them—

Præmia quæ Davus recipit meruisset Homerus.

The labours and toils of the schools end in pride and vanity, by which the philosophers of the twelfth century too often made themselves remarkable; while the rich and great squandered their wealth on base jogelours and minstrels, instead of applying it to the encouragement of true learning and merit. Architrenius turns from this scene, and, at the beginning of the fourth book, arrives at the mount of ambition, which is covered with beautiful gardens and flowers, and watered by a limpid stream which runs from the top over shining pebbles of gold and silver. At the summit he beheld a vast and stately palace. The poet now proceeds to treat of the evils which spring from ambition, and gives a long and interesting description of the manners and corruptions of the court. Not far from the mountain of ambition he found the hill of presump-

tion (*collis præsumptionis*) which is described at the beginning of the fifth book. Its inhabitants were chiefly ecclesiastics, doctors or masters, and monks, and he is led to a bitter satire on the manners of the clergy. The scholastic professors were more often presumptuous than learned:—

Hic vulgus cathedras rapta deitate magistri
Insilit, et vacua de majestate tumorem
Concipit, impubis et mento et mente virenti,
Crudus adhuc succo juvenem solidosque viriles
Præveniens culmos, nec maturata senectæ
Præcipiti lauro non expectasse veretur.
Hos ego prætereo tactos sine nomine, vosque
Præterit ignotus insania nota magister.
O rabies sedisse Rabi, dulcique Minervæ
Intonuisse tuba, nondum patientibus annis.
Hic in philosophos ausa est sævire flagello
Mortis alumna fames, animoque potentia Phœbi
Pignora pauperies curarum umberat Hydra.

In his zeal against this vice the poet complains of the presumption of old age, which had dared to whiten the locks of good king Henry.

Hic ubi delegit summam præsumptio sedem,
Inserpit festina comis, crispatque senecta
Henrici faciem, quem flava Britannia regem
Jactat, eoque duce titulis Normannia ridet,
Et belli et pacis, totumque supermeat orbem,
Indole quam belli nunquam fregere tumultus,
Dedidicitque virum gladio matura juventus,
His vernare genis æternum debuit ævi.

Architrenius, ever lamenting and weeping over the vanities of the world, turns away from the prospect, and beholds a hideous monster, whose head extends to the skies. This was cupidity, a vice on which the poet proceeds to moralise, attacking more especially the avarice and greediness of the prelates of his days. The wanderer is interrupted in his reflections by the noise of a terrible combat between the prodigals and the misers (*inter largos et avaros*);

and he here enters into details taken from the fabulous British History of Geoffrey of Monmouth, or from popular romances. In the sixth book he is suddenly carried to distant Thule, where he finds the ancient Grecian philosophers, who are introduced declaiming against the vices of mankind, and their declamations continue through the seventh and part of the eighth books. Architrenius listens, and continues his lamentations, until suddenly lifting up his eyes he beholds before him a beautiful woman, in the midst of a flowery plain, surrounded by numerous attendants. Learning that this lady was Nature, he throws himself at her feet: but before listening to his prayer she delivers a long discourse on natural philosophy, which is continued to the middle of the ninth, or last, book. Architrenius then tells his griefs and misfortunes, and relates what he has seen in his wanderings. Dame Nature takes pity on his sufferings, consoles him by giving him a beautiful wife named Moderation, and ends with a chapter of good counsel on his conjugal duties.

This poem appears, by the numerous manuscripts still extant, to have been extremely popular during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was made the subject of learned commentaries. But we have no traces of any other work by the same author. There is no reason for attributing to John de Hauteville the metrical treatise *De Epistolarum Compositione* which follows the Architrenius in a manuscript at Oxford;* and the old bibliographers seem to have had no authority for ascribing to him the poem *De Rebus Occultis*, or the "*Epigrammata, epistolas, et poemata*," mentioned by Bale.

Edition.

An edition of the Architrenius was printed by Jodocus Badius Assensius, in small 4to. Paris, 1517, but is so extremely rare that we have not been able to obtain sight of a copy.

* MS. Digby, No. 64.

JOCELIN OF FURNESS.

Jocelin, distinguished as a writer of biographies, chiefly of saints, was a monk of Furness abbey in Lancashire. Tanner seems to think that he was a Welchman. It appears from the prologue to his life of St. Patrick, which he compiled at the request of Thomas archbishop of Armagh and Malachias (another Irish prelate) and John de Curcy the conqueror of Ulster, that he flourished about the year 1185. This life is a mere compilation from the vulgar legends relating to the saint which were then current in Ireland, and has no historical value, as may be judged from the following example:

De triplici pestilentia de Hibernia per sanctum Patricium effugata.

Sanctissimus Patricius pestilentiæ triplici eliminandæ summam operam et diligentiam adhibuit, et tum salutari doctrina, tum ferventissimæ orationis obtentu, Hiberniam hujus grassantis veneni exsortem exhibuit. Ipse namque pastor præstantissimus manu Domini Jesu baculum bajulavit, ejusque elevatione comminatoria omnia venenata animantia, angelico suffultus suffragio, ex universis Hiberniæ partibus in unum congregavit. Deinde omnia usque ad editissimum insulæ promontorium in fugam compulit, quod scilicet *Cruachan-ailge* dicebatur tunc, nunc vero *Cruach-phadruig* dicitur, ibique totam turbam pestiferam de prærupta montis crepidine, in virtute præcepti, præcipiti lapsu oceano absorbendam depulit. O signum insigne! O miraculum magnificum, a mundi exordio inexpertum, nunc tribubus, populis, et linguis compertum, cunctis fere nationibus notorium, specialiter Hiberniæ incolis pernecessarium! Huic tam miraculoso tamque perutili spectaculo numerosus populus intererat, quorum pars plurima ad signa videnda, quædam ad verba vitæ percipienda undique confluxerat. Convertit deinde faciem suam versus Manniam et cæteras insulas, quas fide Christi et sacramentis imbuit, et benedixit, ac precum suarum obtentu reptilium venenatorum omnes illas tantum expertes fecit et reddidit.

Jocelin was also the author of a life of St. Kentigern, first bishop of Glasgow, which is dedicated to Jocelin, bishop of the same see from 1174 to 1199, and is preserved

in a manuscript in the British Museum (MS. Cotton. Vitellius, C. VIII.); of a life of St. Helen, an abridgment of which is cited by Tanner as being found in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library; and of a life of David king of Scotland, extracts from which will be found in the sixth book of Fordun's Scotichronicon. As it is recorded that bishop Jocelin amplified his see, and enlarged and adorned his church of St. Kentigern, in 1181, we may conjecture that the Life of St. Kentigern was composed on that occasion.* Stowe, in his Survey of London, mentions a history of the bishops of the Britons *(De Britonum episcopis)* by Jocelin of Furness.†

Edition.

Florilegium Insulæ sanctorum, seu Vitæ et Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ . . . Omnia . . . collegit, et publicabat Thomas Messinghamus. Parisiis, 1624, fol. pp. 1—85, Jocelini monachi de Furnesio Vita Sancti Patricii.

BENOIT DE SAINTE-MAUR.

THERE are strong reasons for believing that this trouvère was a native of the little town of Sainte-Maur in the district of Tours, and that he was a monk or clerk of the monastery of Marmoutier in that place.‡ We know nothing more of his personal history than that he was patronised by Henry II. by whose direction he composed his metrical history of the dukes of Normandy, a circumstance which

* Jocelinus episcopus sedem episcopalem dilatavit, et sancti Kentegerni ecclesiam gloriose magnificavit. Chronica de Mailros, ed. Stevenson, p. 91.

† Stowe's London, p. 177 (Ed. 1842).

‡ This information is deduced chiefly from the circumstance of a fine MS. of the Chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy having been recently discovered at Tours, which had belonged to the abbey of Marmoutier. See the appendix to the third volume of M. Michel's edition of Benoit.

excited the jealousy of a rival poet, Wace.* As he appears to have been younger than the author of the Roman de Rou, we may suppose that Benoit de Sainte-Maur flourished about the year 1180.

The earliest of Benoit's two great poems was, probably, his metrical romance of the History of Troy, a subject of great interest in the middle ages, because most of the western nations pretended to trace their origin to the dispersion of the Trojans. The poem of Benoit is chiefly a paraphrase of the supposititious history of the Phrygian Dares, with some additions from the similar work published under the name of Dictys; but the Anglo-Norman trouvère, faithful to the taste of his age, has turned the Grecian and Trojan heroes into medieval knights and barons. At the commencement of his poem Benoit quotes the authority of Salomon, that men ought not to conceal their knowledge from the world, as an excuse for his undertaking to translate this history from the Latin, in which it was hidden from the unlearned. He then gives us an account of the original authorities, founded on the preface to the pseudo-Dares. Homer, he says, was a marvellously learned clerk, but he lived more than a hundred years after the events he describes, and his want of veracity is sufficiently evident. The people of Athens fell into a great "contention" regarding him, and would have condemned his book because he made the gods fight with mortals; but Homer had so much personal influence, that his book was finally received as authority. †

> Omers, qui clers fu mervillous,
> Et sages et esciantrous,

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* See before, p. 207, of the present volume.

† There is a complete MS. of the Roman de Troye in the Harleian Collection, No. 4482, from which our extracts are taken. Long extracts from a MS. in the library of St. Mark at Venice, are printed by Keller, in his Romvart, p. 86.

Escrit de la destruction,
Del grant siege, de l'oquoison,
Par coi Troie fu desertée,
C'onques puis ne fu habitée;
Mais ne dit pas ses livres voir.
Quer bien savons de fit pour voir
Qu'il ne fu puis de cent ans nez,
Qe li grans os fu assamblez;
N'est merveille s'il i failli,
Car ains verité n'en oi.
Quant il en ot son livre fait,
Et à Athenes l'ot retrait,
Si ot estrange contenson;
Dampner le vorrent par raison,
Pour ce qu'ot fait les damrediex
Combatre o les hommes mortex.
Tenu li fu à desuerie,
Et à merveille et à folie,
Que les dieus o hommes humains
Faisoit combatre as Troyens.
Et quant son livre reciterent,
Pour itant si le refuserent.
Mais tant fu Omers de grant pris,
Que tant fist puis, si com je lis,
Que les livres fu receus,
Et en auctoriteit tenus.

Benoit goes on to inform us that in the time of the Romans lived Sallust, a very rich and learned man, who had a nephew named Cornelius. Cornelius was sent to study at Athens; and there, seeking for books of "grammar" in a cupboard, he found a copy of the original work written in Greek by Dares.

.I. jour queroit en un aumaire
Pour traire livres de gramaire,
Tant i a quis et triboulé,
Qu'entre les autres a trouvé
L'estoire que Daires ot escrite,
En Grece langue faite et dite.
Cis Daires dont vus çi oez
Fu à Troies nourris et nez.

Dares, he states, had been present at the siege of Troy, and was an eye-witness of all he related. His book

had long been forgotten, when it was discovered by Cornelius, who lost no time in translating it into Latin. Benoit de Sainte-Maur translated it from Cornelius's Latin version into French.

Ceste hystoire n'est pas usée,
Ne en gaires de lieus trovée ;
Jà retraite ne fust encore,
Mais Beneois de Sainte More
L'a commencie et faite et dite,
Et à ses mains l'a toute escrite,
Içi taillie, içi ouvrée,
Içi escrite, içi posée,
Et plus ne mains n'i a mestier ;
Ci wet l'estoire commencier.

The Romance of Troy contains nearly thirty thousand lines. It is a heavy and dull poem, and possesses little interest at the present day; although it abounds in those repeated descriptions of warfare which constituted the great beauty of such productions in the twelfth century. Almost the only passage approaching to any degree of poetical elegance is the description of Spring, in the account of the departure of the Argonauts for the conquest of the golden fleece, which has been quoted by M. de la Rue—

Quant vint el tens qu'ivers derive,
Que l'erbe vers point en la rive ;
Lorsque florissent li ramel ;
E dulcement chantent oisel,
Merle, mauvis, e loriol,
E estornel e rossignol,
La blanche flor pent en l'espine,
E reverdoie la gaudine,
Quant li tens est dulz et souez,
Lor sortirent del port les nez.

The Romance of Troy was so much admired at the time of its publication, that its author was requested by Henry II. to undertake a metrical chronicle of the dukes

of Normandy, which also has been preserved.* That Benoit received many benefits from this monarch is evident from the eagerness with which he seizes every opportunity of introducing his praise into his work; he speaks of him as

> —— le bon rei Henri secund,
> Flors des princes de tot le mund,
> Ki faiz sunt dignes de memoire,
> E ki Deus dunt força e victoire,
> Longe vie, prosperité,
> Senz aisse e senz aversité!
> Saintisme e bone seit sa fins!

And in another place he thus expresses the hope that his writing may be agreeable to the king—

> Or dunge Deus par sa duçor
> Qu'al plaisir seit de mon seignor,
> Del bon rei Henri fiz Maheut,
> Que si benigne cum il seut
> Seit al oir e al entendre!
> N'est pas de mes pours la mendre
> Que de mesdire e de mesfaire
> Chose qui ne li deie plaire.

The metrical chronicle of the dukes of Normandy by Benoit, which extends to thirty thousand lines, begins with a brief sketch of the cosmographical doctrines of the age, which leads to the account of the origin of the Normans and their first piratical voyages, and the history is continued to the death of Henry I. The larger portion is a mere paraphrase of the Latin histories by Dudo of St. Quentins and William of Jumièges, with some slight additions of matter not found in those authorities; but it

* The MS. from which the text of Benoit's Chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy has been printed, is preserved in the British Museum, MS. Harl. No. 1717. A second manuscript has since been found in the library of the city of Tours, in France. In the introduction to the first volume M. Michel had stated his opinion that the author of the Chronicle was not the same person as the author of the Romance of Troy, which, however, he has been induced to retract by the circumstances connected with the second MS.

is inferior as a historical document and as a literary composition to the similar work of Wace, which appears from the first to have enjoyed a greater degree of popularity. Among the few narratives peculiar to Benoit is that of the love of duke Robert and Harlette, the mother of William the Conqueror, which is told with much simplicity and elegance. The following description of Harlette is a favourable specimen of the poet's style:

A Faleise esteit sojornanz
Li bons dux Robert li Normanz;
Mult li ert le leus covenables
E beaus e sains e delitables,
C'esteit uns de ses granz deporz
Qu'od danzeles, ce sui recorz.
Un jor qu'il veneit de chacier
En choisi une en un gravier,
Denz le ruissel d'un fontenil,
Où en blanchisseit un cheinsil
Od autres filles de borgeis,
Dunt aveit od li plus de treis,
Tirez aveit ses dras ensus,
Si cum puceles unt en us,
Par enveisure e par geu
Peeres quant sunt en itel leu.
Beaus fu li jorz e li tens chauz;
Ce que ne covri sis bliauz
Des piez e des jambes parurent,
Qui si très-beaus e si blans furent
Que ce fu bien au duc avis
Que neifs ert pale e flors de lis
Avers la soe grant blancheor:
Merveilles i torna s'amor.
　Fille ert d'un borzeis la pucele,
Sage e corteise e proz e bele,
Bloie, od bel front e od beaus oilz
Où jà ne fust trovez orguilz,
Mais benignitez e franchise;
Si n'en fu nule mieuz aprise.
E s'aveit la color plus fine
Que flors de rose ne d'espine,
Nés bien seant, boche e menton;
Riens n'out plus avenant façon,

Ne plus bel col ne plus beaus braz.
Iteu parole vos en faz,
Que gente fu e blanche e grasse
Eissi que les beautez trespasse
Des autres totes deu regné,
Poi vous ai dit de sa beauté
A ce qui 'n ert, ce sachez bien.

The following lines descriptive of Spring, from the account of Rollo's departure from England, may be compared with the similar passage of the Romance of Troy:

Quant li ivers fu trespassez,
Vint li dulz tens e li estez,
Venta l'aure sueve e quoie,
Chanta li merles e li treie,
Bois reverdirent e prael,
E gent florirent li ramel,
Parut la rose buen olanz,
E altres flors de maint semblanz.

The two poems described above are the only works known to have been written by Benoit de Sainte-Maur. Tyrwhitt ascribed to him a life of Thomas Becket in Anglo-Norman verse, and the abbé de la Rue believed him to be the author of a song on the crusade in the same language, found at the end of the Harleian MS. containing his chronicle. The life of St. Thomas is evidently the work of a later writer of the name of Benoit, as M. de la Rue has observed. The song was written by a knight on his way to oin the crusade, who speaks of his lady whom he had left behind him, and could not therefore have been written by a monk of Marmoutier.

Edition.

Collection de Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France publiés par ordre du roi.—Chronique des ducs de Normandie, par Benoit, trouvère Anglo-Normand du xiie. siècle, publiée pour la première fois d'après un manuscrit du Musée Britannique, par Francisque Michel. Tome I. Paris, 1836. Tome II. Paris, 1838. Tome III. Paris, 1844. 4to.

CLEMENT OF LANTHONY.

We have very little information relating to this writer, who was successively sub-prior and prior of Lanthony.* We learn from Giraldus Cambrensis that he was attached to study, and negligent of the affairs of his monastery, and that he died of a paralytic stroke.† As he is witness, as prior, to a charter of David bishop of St. David's,‡ he must have been chosen to that office before the year 1176, when that prelate died. From the manner in which Giraldus speaks of him, Clement appears to have died about the end of the reign of Henry II., or early in that of Richard I. Osbert of Stoke, his contemporary, speaks of him as one of the most illustrious men of his age for learning and piety.§

The work by which Clement was best known was a harmony of the Gospels, with a commentary selected from the writings of the fathers. To the text he gave the title of *Series Collecta*, and to the accompanying exposition that of *Collectarium*. Several manuscripts of this work are preserved,|| and it was so much admired that towards the end of the fourteenth century an English version was

* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, tom. ii. p. 322.

† Girald. Camb. Itin. Cambriæ, lib. i. cap. 3.

‡ See Tanner, v. *Clemens Lanthoniensis.*

§ Venerabilis prior Lanhoudenensis, Clemens nomine et opere, vir singularis religionis et elimatæ scientiæ, præclarus suo illuxit tempore inter illustres viros Angliæ. Osbert. de translatione reliq. D. Eadburgæ, ap. Leland.

|| The MS. from which our extract is made is preserved in the public library of the University of Cambridge, where it stands under the shelf-mark Dd, 1, 17. The work is there entitled, Incipit concordia quatuor Evangelistarum, historiæ ordo Evangelicæ, et Evangeliorum manuale breviarium.

made, supposed to be the work of one of the followers of Wycliffe, of which also several copies are extant.* The following extract from the preface will give some idea of the objects of the writer, and, at the same time, furnish a specimen of the style of the original and of the English translation:

Prologus.

Clemens Lantoniensis ecclesiæ presbyter n. pacem utramque. Hujus operis, fili carissime, causam requiris et fructum. Quæris etiam qua fretus autoritate quatuor Evangelistarum narrationes in unam contraxerim. Quæris et tituli et ordinis rationem. Prima igitur duo, causa scilicet et fructus, licet circa idem versentur, aliqua tamen distinctionis ratione dividi possunt. Causa enim est ut præ oculis habeam quæ ab unoquoque quatuor Evangelistarum sunt dicta, quæ prætermissa, quæ præoccupata, quæ etiam commemorata. Non enim omnes omnia dicunt, et quæ dicunt non omnia secundum ordinem naturalem loco suo dicunt, sed quæ posterius facta præoccupant, et quæ ante facta postea commemorant. Unusquisque tamen Evangelistarum, ut ait beatus Augustinus, sic contexit narrationem suam ut tanquam nihil prætermittentis series digesta videatur. Tacitis enim quæ non vult dicere, sic ea quæ vult dicere illis quæ dicebat adjungit, ut ipsa continuo sequi videantur. Sed cum alter ea dicit quæ alter tacuit, dili-

The prolog on oon book maad of foure gospelleris.

Clement, a preest of the chirche of Lantony, gaderid alle the sentensis of foure gospeleleris into o story. Thre profytis ben of this travel. The firste, for a man may have redily what thinges ben seyd of ech gospeler by hym silf, and whiche thingis ben lefte out, and whiche ben before ocupied, and whiche ben remembrid; for not alle gospeleris seyen alle thingis, and the thingis whiche thei seyen, thei seyen not alle thingis by kyndely ordre in her place, but thei bifore ocupien tho thingis that ben don aftirward, and thei remembren aftirward the thingis that ben don bifore. Tho thingis whiche ech gospeler seith by hym silf, ben sette forth withouten ony abregginge; tho thingis whiche tweyne, either thre, either foure gospeleris seien, ben sette oonys, and natheless what evere thing ech of hem settith to withouten othere is set forth opinly. The secunde profyte is this, that this traveyle schewith acordinge of foure gospeleris. The thridde profyte is this, that this travel declarith

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* There are several MSS. of the English version in the British Museum. Our extract is made from MS. Reg. 17 D. VIII. At the end is the following rubric: Here eendith oon of foure, that is o book of alle foure gospeleris gaderid schortly into oo story, by Clement of Lantony. Blessid be the holy Trynité. Amen.

genter ordo consideratus indicat locum ubi ea potuerit a quo prætermissa sunt transilire, ut ea quæ dicere intenderat ita superioribus copularet, tanquam ipsa nullis interpositis sequerentur. Fructus autem hujus operis triplex est; primus quod brevitatis compendium præstat, ea tamen quæ singuli dicunt nulla brevitate contracta sunt, quæ vero duo vel tres vel omnes itera abbreviatione restricta sunt, semel enim posita sunt, addito tamen quicquid quilibet eorem præter cæteros apponit. Secundus quia concordiam quatuor Evangelistarum demonstrat, nec tamen alium alii confert quo dissidentes vel concordes appareant, sed loca quasi contraria et sibi repugnantia simul ponit, ut ex hoc diligenti inquisitori non esse dissidentia innotescat. Tertius, quia ordinem rerum gestarum declarat, ut in seriem ipsorum Evangeliorum per hanc distinctionem facilior intelligentiæ aditus pateat, et evangelicæ ordinationis ratio clarius elucescat. . . . . Ratio tituli ex supradictis patet; ordo autem necessitatis est, aut commoditatis, aut rationis. Necessitas cogit, commoditas aptat, ratio narrationis ordinem non demutat.

the ordre of thingis don, that herby esier entringe of undirstondinge be opyn into the ordre of the gospels, and that the resoun of ordenaunce of the gospels be clerer. . . . Clement settith in the begynnynge of a chapitre what gospeler seith the first sentence, and at ech sentence of another gospeler he settith the name of that gospeler, ȝhe for o word. So that in many placis of his book the names of the gospeleris ocupien muche more space than the sentencis don. Therfore leste this ofte rehersinge and medlinge of the names of the gospeleris among the sentence schulde make the sentence dark and cumbre simple mennes wyttys, I sette in the bygynnynge of a chapitre alle the gospelleris that tretyn that chapitre, and in what place of the Bible.

It is said that the work was left incomplete by Clement of Lanthony, and that it was finished at a much later period by William of Nottingham.* The two parts seem to have been considered as separate works; and the simple series of the harmony of the Gospels is often found without the commentary. It is so found in the English version.

Clement of Lanthony was the author of several other works. His treatise on the wings of the cherubim is

* See Tanner, Bibl. v. *Clemens Lanthoniensis.*

found in numerous manuscripts in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge. His commentary on the Acts of the Apostles is preserved in the British Museum (MS. Reg. 2 D. V.) He also published commentaries on the canonical epistles, which are preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth. Clement's gloss on the Psalter, and his treatise *De arte fidei catholicæ* are extant in the Bodleian Library, and in the libraries of Trinity and Magdalene colleges, Oxford. Bale also ascribes to this writer, *Epistolæ ad diversos, Lecturæ scholasticæ*, and a treatise *De orbibus astrologicis.*

ROBERT OF BRIDLINGTON.

Another very productive theological writer of this period was Robert of Bridlington, who, from being constantly occupied in writing, was commonly known by the name of Robert the Scribe. He was fourth prior of the monastery of Bridlington, and in Leland's time his monument might still be seen in the cloister, before the entrance to the chapter house, with the inscription, *Robertus, cognomento Scriba, quartus prior*. His writings were chiefly commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, several of which are still extant in manuscript. Leland found in the library of the priory of Bridlington, where they were then carefully preserved, prior Robert's Commentaries on the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, the twelve Prophets, the Psalter, the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, the Epistles of St Paul, and the Apocalypse, with a Dialogue *de corpore et sanguine Domini* and a treatise *de ecclesia catholica.* Bale adds to these, Commentaries on the Song of Solomon, and on the creed of St. Athanasius and the Lord's Prayer, a treatise *de operibus sex dierum,* and a book of sermons.

HEREBERT OF BOSHAM.

HEREBERT of BOSHAM was probably a native of the town of that name in Sussex.* He is said to have studied in France, and to have returned to his native country at the solicitation of Thomas Becket, whom he afterwards followed in all his fortunes, and to whom he appears to have performed the duties of a secretary. At a later period he collected into a volume the letters which he had written, both in the name of his patron and in his own.† It has been stated, but apparently without reason, that Herebert was one of the witnesses of Becket's death. We have no information as to the time at which he died; but he compiled a life of his patron, probably towards the year 1188. This life was one of the four biographies which, in an abridged form, entered into the composition of the *Quadrilogus*. Bale attributes to Herebert de Bosham other books, entitled *Defensorium Annæ* (which, he says, commenced with the words *Errorum veterum inventores*); *De suis peregrinationibus*; *Glossa in Psalterium*; and a Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul. Some of these were perhaps the works of other writers of the name of Herebert. The commentary on the Psalms is preserved in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library. Herebert de Bosham appears to have been confounded with another ecclesiastic

* Herebert is enumerated as a man of learning and reputation in the Catalogus eruditorum B. Thomæ Martyris, and he is there distinctly stated to have been an Englishman.

† A copy is preserved among Archbishop Parker's MSS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 123; it is entitled in Nasmith's Catalogue, *Epistolæ Herberti de Bossam tam in persona Thomæ Becket quam in sua ad papam et alios episcopos, et responsiones ad illas.*

of the same (or a similar) name, who retired to Rome, and was made by the pope archbishop of Benevento, and afterwards, in 1178, a cardinal.

GILBERT AND ROBERT FOLIOT.

Gilbert Foliot was one of the most remarkable men of his age, and is praised by many of his contemporaries for his learning and piety, as well as for his eloquence and skill in secular affairs. He was descended of a powerful family which came in with William the conqueror, and, after having been (as it is said) archdeacon of Middlesex, he became a monk of Cluny. In 1139, by the influence of his kinsman Milo constable of Gloucester and of Robert de Betun bishop of Hereford, he was made abbot of Gloucester; in 1148 he was advanced to the bishopric of Hereford; and in 1163 he was, at the especial desire of the king, made bishop of London.* In the disputes between the king and Becket, Gilbert bishop of London distinguished himself by his faithful adherence to the former. At the end of the year 1164 he went to Rome to plead Henry's cause. On his return the king appointed him receiver of the rents of the confiscated property of the church, and employed him as his chief adviser in ecclesiastical matters. As might be expected, he became one of the most prominent objects of the hatred of the party of Becket; and in the letters of the archbishop and John of Salisbury he is loaded with epithets of the coarsest abuse. Becket himself did not scruple to designate him as "the forerunner of Antichrist and the exciter of all the king's

* Henry Wharton, de London. Episcopis, where there is a long article on this prelate. Conf. Godwin, de Episc. and the article in Tanner's Bibliotheca. Bale states erroneously that Gilbert was abbot of Leicester.

malice,"—*Antichristi præambulum et totius malitiæ regis incentorem.** His enemies accused Gilbert of aspiring to the archbishopric; and they reproach him with his presumption in asserting that the see of London owed no submission to that of Canterbury, and in refusing to obey Becket's orders. In the council held at London in 1169, Gilbert Foliot appealed from the archbishop to the pope, for which act of contumacy he was solemnly excommunicated by Becket; but he repaired to Rome in person, and obtained his absolution in 1170. He had no sooner been delivered from this sentence than, before the end of the last mentioned year, Becket excommunicated him a second time; and on this occasion the sentence was confirmed by the pope, who suspended him from his functions. The bishop of London remained under the sentence until after Becket's death, and the hatred of Becket's party was carried so far that they accused him of having been accessory to the murder. When the pope's legates at length absolved him at Gisors in the beginning of August 1171, he was obliged to pledge himself that he had not by deed or word procured the death of the archbishop. Some of his contemporaries invented a story, which is preserved by Matthew Paris, how he was one night reclining on his couch, reflecting on a long consultation which he had just had with the king on Becket's affairs, when a strange voice uttered in his hearing the following rhymes,—

O Gilberte Foliot,
Dum revolvis tot et tot,
Deus tuus est Astarot.

It is added that the bishop replied without hesitation, *Mentiris, dæmon, Deus meus est Deus Sabaoth.* Gilbert died on the 18th of February, 1187, which probably

* Epist. S. Thomæ, lib. iii. ep. 59.

means 1187-8; for Walter Mapes, in his treatise *De nugis curialium*, written apparently at the end of 1187, speaks of him as still alive, though very aged and almost blind, and states that he was employing his latter years in literary occupations.*

By the terms in which Mapes speaks of his skill in Latin, French, and English, we might be led to suppose that Bishop Gilbert had written in the three languages. Such of his works as are known to us were, however, all written in Latin, and appear to have been composed in the earlier period of his life. His commentary *In cantica canticorum* is dedicated to Robert de Betun, bishop of Hereford; and his letters, of which a considerable number are preserved, belong to the period when he was abbot of Gloucester. These epistles, of which a few are preserved in a manuscript in Hereford Cathedral, and a larger number (between forty and fifty) in a manuscript in the British Museum,† are addressed to Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Worcester, Winchester, Landaff, Salisbury, and Ely, several successive popes, and other ecclesiastics, and relate chiefly to the state of the border of Wales, and to violences offered to the church during the troubled reign of Stephen. They are thus of considerable historical interest. The following, addressed to the bishop of Worcester, may serve as an example:—

Patri suo domino Simoni Wigorn. Dei gratia episcopo frater G. ecclesiæ beati Petri Glocestriæ dictus abbas, cum pietate fructus operari justitiæ. Compellit me caritas et debita vobis suadet obedientia, ut quod

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* Gillebertus Filiot nunc Lundinensis episcopus, vir trium peritissimus linguarum, Latinæ, Gallicæ, Anglicæ, et lucidissime disertus in singulis, in hoc senio suo, quo luminis fere defectum incurrit, cum paucos modicos et luculentos fecerit tractatus, quasi pœnitentiam perditæ vacationis agens. W. Map. de Nug. Curial. Distinc. i. c. 12.

† MS. Reg. 8 A. XXI.

ad honorem vestrum conservandum vel aliquatenus ampliandum spectare cognovero, hoc vobis cum opportunum fuerit et præsens suggeram et absens scripto commoneam. Instant prope tempora periculosa et dies mali supervenerunt nobis, in quibus manu inimici hominis super seminata zizania messem bonam pene suffocare prævalent aut comprimere. Nec tamen gentilitas est in qua sumus, sed omni gentilitate pejor inhumana crudelitas, cui totum quod libet licet, totum viluit quod honestum est, nil amplectens desiderio quod christianæ simplicitati et sacris legibus obviare non constet. Nempe ut audita taceamus, vidimus ante acta hebdomada ecclesiam sanctæ Dei genetricis apud Slohtres mirabili modo diruptam, tectum ejus manu sacrilega convulsum, in parietibus ejus nunquam ædificata propugnacula inmissos satellites impietatis deservire promptissimos. Vidimus, inquam, et doluimus, locum sanctuarii sine honore, ecclesiam Dei turpiter contaminatam et ausu temerario in domicilium Satanæ commutatam. Hujus etiam occasione malitiæ quidam illos expugnare adorsi sunt. Istis itaque in ecclesiam ipsam lapides, tela, faces jacientibus, aliis resistentibus, non sine sanguinis effusione et multa hominum læsione biduum ibi miserabile confectum est. Scimus adhuc lupos intra parietes ejusdem ecclesiæ in ipso ovili Domini latitantes, et in gregem Domini simplicem et innocuum laniantes, aliter fugari non posse, quam si bonus pastor adveniens eos sonitu buccinæ et latratu canum terreat, dissipet, et disperdat. Hortor itaque paternitatem vestram consulendo vobis caritate qua debeo, ut cum honestioribus et eruditioribus clericis vestris locum flagitii festinanter adeatis, et commissam vobis ecclesiam primo purgari deinde redintegrari faciatis. Vel si monitionem vestram manus sacrilega minus auderet, actores et adjutores sceleris scientibus et videntibus ipsis gladio Domini feriatis, ut dum in futuro concilio hujuscemodi tractabuntur excessus, honor sit vobis coram simul discumbentibus opposuisse vos murum pro domo Israel, et illatas sibi contumelias repulisse viriliter aut vindicasse. Vale.

In another letter, addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, in which he excuses himself from attending a council at London, he speaks of an invasion of the border by the Welsh, and of his own losses :—

Patri suo et domino Cant. Dei gratia archiepiscopo et totius Angliæ primati T. frater G. Gloucestriæ dictus abbas humilem ex caritate non ficta obedientiam. Rogamus benevolentiam vestram in Christo, dilecte pater, ut excusationem quam ad præsens necessitate prætendimus, ipsi suscipiatis et de mandato vestro siquid minus agimus, paterna hoc nobis caritate remittatis. Absit enim ut quid audeam in præsentia vestra confingere, qui summum mihi solamen æstimem una vobiscum dies hujus incolatus individua vitæ conjunctione transigere. Sed his qui circa nos sunt satis superque notum est, quomodo nuper irruerint Gualenses in nos, et quod trans Sabrinam fluvium potissimum habebamus totum fere usque in ipsas Gualliæ pro-

funditates abegerunt. Unde necesse est mihi hac ipsa dominica qua Londoniæ convenieretis colloquio regum Gualensium interesse in Glamorgan, vel plusquam trecent. marcarum dampnum irrecuperatorie sustinere. Quia ergo in tota terra cordis vestri ad plenum dominatur caritas, dabitis filio exoranti hanc veniam, ut paterna licentia ad præsens urgenti et instanti plurimum ecclesiæ nostræ necessitati deserviam. Val. domnus et pater meus dilectissimus.

A much larger collection of Gilbert Foliot's letters is preserved in the Bodleian Library, of which an edition is promised by Dr. Giles. The other works attributed to Gilbert are chiefly letters and writings relating to the disputes between the king and Becket. Some of these are printed among the *Epistolæ S. Thomæ*, and one will be found in the Concilia of Wilkins. Gilbert Foliot has been often confounded with Gilbertus Universalis, and with other Gilberts whose works have been wrongly ascribed to him.

ROBERT FOLIOT, probably a kinsman of Gilbert, who was also bishop of Hereford, has frequently been confounded with Robert de Melun. We first hear of him as archdeacon of Oxford. He is said to have been a friend of Becket, and to have been made by his influence bishop of Hereford, to which see he was consecrated on the 6th of October 1174. He died at Hereford on the 9th of May 1186, and was buried in the cathedral. The only work which he is known to have written is a treatise *De sacramentis Veteris Testamenti*, which Leland saw in the library of the abbey of Bury St. Edmund's, and which Tanner mentions as being preserved in the Lumley Library. The *Excerpta ex chronicis Mariani Scoti*, attributed to Robert Foliot, was the work of an earlier Robert, bishop of Hereford.* He is also said to have composed a volume of sermons.†

* See before, p. 20, of the present volume.

† The sources of all we know of this writer are indicated in the *Bibliotheca* of Tanner.

Edition.

The commentary *in Cantica Canticorum* of Gilbert Foliot was printed by Patrick Junius, 4to. London, 1638.

RANULPH DE GLANVILLE.

Ranulph de Glanville, one of the most illustrious statesmen of the reign of Henry II., is known in literary history as the presumed author of the first treatise on English law. He is said to have been born at Stratford in Suffolk.* He founded the abbey of Butteley, in Suffolk, in 1171; but his influence appears to have lain chiefly in the North of England, where, after the death of Conan, earl of Richmond, in 1171, Ranulph held the castle and honour of Richmond, in Yorkshire, in fee of the king, and as governor of Richmond Castle he joined actively with the other barons of the North in opposing the invasion of the Scots under William the Lion, in 1173 and 1174. In the battle of Alnwick in 1174, it was Ranulph de Glanville who captured the Scotish king, and he carried his royal prisoner to king Henry in Normandy. In 1175 he was made sheriff of Yorkshire, an office which he held many years. In the year following he was made a judge of the king's court; and, the king having in the same year divided the kingdom into six circuits, and appointed three justices itinerant for each, Ranulph de Glanville was appointed one of those for the Northern circuit.† In 1179, England being divided into four similar circuits, he was named one of the six justices itinerant for the Northern division.‡ In 1180 he was appointed

* So, at least, it is stated in the preface to the English translation of his book.

† Roger Hoveden, Annal. p. 549.

‡ Roger Hoveden, Annal. p. 591.

chief justiciary of England,* which under the Norman kings was the highest office under the crown, not only the chief administration of the laws, but the command of the armies, and the government of the realm during the absence of the king, being lodged in his hands. It appears that Ranulph gained this high degree of royal favour not only by his great abilities as a statesman, and his profound acquaintance with the laws, but by the firmness which he shewed in supporting the royal prerogative against the encroachments of the church. Yet in 1184 he fell into some degree of odium for an alleged act of tyrannical injustice, which involved him in a dispute with the bishop of Worcester.† In 1186 he took the cross, with some other of the great barons in England; and in the year following he was employed on an embassy to the French court, and was active in negotiating the peace of Gisors.‡ Ranulph de Glanville held the office of chief justiciary until king Henry's death, and he continued to enjoy the royal favour after the accession of Richard I. We learn from William of Newbury, that he was at table with the new king at the time of the sanguinary insurrection against the Jews in London, which happened soon after his coronation; and that he was immediately sent in the hopes that his known prudence and authority would be most efficient in allaying the tumult.§ He was now advanced in years (*grandævus*), and is said to have been dissatisfied with some of the measures of the youthful court. The same year (1190), he resigned his offices, and determined

* Hoveden, ib. p. 600.

† See Hoveden, ib. pp. 622, 623.

‡ Hoveden, ib. pp. 629 and 633.

§ Mittitur a latere regis Ranulphus de Glanvilla, regni procurator, vir potens et prudens, cum aliis æque nobilibus, ut vel flecteret vel frænaret audaces. Will. Neubr. Hist. lib. iv. c. 1.

to join the crusade which had been proclaimed in the preceding year. He went in company with archbishop Baldwin and Hubert bishop of Salisbury, embarked at Marseilles, and arrived in Syria to take an active part in the siege of Acres, where he was killed, being one of the first men of distinction who fell in the christian cause.*

Ranulph de Glanville appears to have zealously occupied himself in compiling and digesting, as well as enforcing, the English laws, which were then in a confused state. It is somewhat singular that Roger Hoveden (who was Ranulph's contemporary), after stating his appointment to the office of chief justiciary, adds, that "by his wisdom were compiled the under-written laws which we call English" *(cujus sapientia conditæ sunt leges subscriptæ quas Anglicanas vocamus)*, and then gives the Latin text of the laws of William the Conqueror. Probably the Annalist means no more than that Ranulph de Glanville republished and enforced more strictly the observance of the older code of Anglo-Norman laws. He is said also to have been the author of the act of Novel Disseisin. But his great fame among lawyers has arisen from the treatise *De legibus et consuetudinibus regni Angliæ*, which has been repeatedly published under his name, and which was probably compiled at least by his directions. There is no distinct authority for attributing it to him; yet the arguments which have been brought forward against his claims (such as that no one but an ecclesiastic could have written in Latin) are altogether devoid of force; and it is distinctly stated to have been published during the time when he held the administration of the laws, in the title which it bears in the earliest manuscripts. It is certain that it was a treatise of the highest authority;

* W. Neubrig. lib. iv. c. 4. Roger Hoveden, Annal. pp. 668 and 685.

it was copied and republished, in a mutilated form, in Scotland, in the work commonly known by the title of *Regiam Majestatem*; and it is the groundwork of the later treatise of Bracton. The treatise of Ranulph de Glanville forms a regular system of English jurisprudence, confined in general to such matters as came within the jurisdiction of the king's court, or *curia regis*. It is divided into fourteen books, of which the first three comprise the proceedings in a writ of right for the recovery of land. The first details the various forms of proceeding, until the two parties appear in court; the second and third books describe the proceedings after the cause has been brought into court, and treat of the duel, the grand assize, &c. The writer's observations on the advantages of the grand assize (lib. ii. c. 7) will serve as an example of the style of the book—

Est autem magna assisa regale quoddam beneficium, clementia principis de consilio procerum populis indultum, quo vitæ hominum et status integritati tam salubriter consulitur, ut in jure quod quis in libero soli tenemento possidet retinendo, duelli casum declinare possunt homines ambigunm. Ac per hoc contigit insperatæ et præmaturæ mortis ultimum evadere supplicium, vel saltem perennis infamiæ opprobrium, illius infesti et inverecundi verbi quod in ore victi turpiter sonat consecutivum. Ex æquitate autem maxima prodita est legalis ista institutio. Jus enim, quod post multas et longas dilationes vix evincitur per duellum, per beneficium istius constitutionis commodius et acceleratius expeditur. Assisa enim ipsa tot non expectat essonia quot duellum, ut ex sequentibus liquebit. Ac per hoc et laboribus hominum parcitur, et sumptibus pauperum. Præterea, quanto magis ponderat in judiciis plurium idoneorum testium fides quam unius tantum, tanto majori æquitate nititur ista constitutio quam duellum. Cum enim ex unius jurati testimonio procedat duellum, duodecim ad minus legalium hominum exigat ista constitutio juramenta. Pervenitur autem ad assisam ipsam hoc ordine. Quare is qui se in assisam posuit ab initio perquiret breve de pace habenda, ne de cætero ab adversario ponatur in placitum per breve, quo prius inter eos placitum fuit de tenemento unde tenens posuit se in assisam.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth books are respectively occupied with questions relating to advowson, villenage, and

dower. The seventh treats of various questions relating to inheritance, such as alienation, descents, succession, wardship, and testaments. The eighth book treats of final concords, and of records in general; the ninth, of homage, relief, fealty, services, and purprestures and removal of boundaries; and the tenth, of debts and matters of contract. The eleventh treats of attorneys, whose duty it is to represent their principals in court. Having finished the subject of actions originally commencing in the *curia regis*, the writer proceeds in the twelfth book to treat of writs of right when brought in a lord's court, and of the manner of removing them thence into the county court and *curia regis*. The thirteenth book treats of assises and disseisins; and the fourteenth is occupied with the discussion of the doctrine of pleas of the crown, of concealment of treasure trove, homicide, arson, robbery, rape, forgery, &c.

Editions.

Tractatus de legibus et consuetudinibus regni Anglie, tempore Regis Henrici secundi compositus, Iusticie gubernacula tenente illustri viro Ranulpho de Glanuilla iuris regni et antiquarum consuetudinū eo tempore peritissimo. Et illas solū leges continet et consuetudines secundum quas placitatur in Curia Regis ad scaccarium et coram Iusticiis vbicunque fuerint. Huic adiectæ sunt a quodam legum studioso adnotationes aliquot marginales non inutiles. On the last leaf, Londini in ædibus Richardi Totteli. 12°. Supposed to have been printed about 1554, at the suggestion or under the direction of Sir William Sanford, judge of the common pleas.

Tractatus de Legibus, &c. Qui nunc imprimitur post 50 annos a priori et prima Impressione, quia in pluribus concordat cum antiquo libro Legum Scotiæ vocato Regiam Maiestatem precipuæ in locis hoc signo notatis*. Cum diuersis manuscriptis nuper examinatis.. . In ædibus Thomæ Wight, 1604. 12mo. London.

This edition was reprinted, with the omission of the preface, in 1673.

Traités sur les Coutumes Anglo-Normandes, publiés en Angleterre, depuis le onzieme jusqu'au quatorzième Siècle.. .. Par M. Houard, Avocat au Parlement. Tome Premier. A Rouen, 1776, 4to. pp. 373—581. Tractatus de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Regni Anglie, tempore Regis Henrici II. compositus, Justicie Gubernacula tenente illustri viro Ranulpho de Glanvilla, &c.

Tractatus de Legibus, &c. Cum MSS. Harl. Cott. Bodl. et Mill. collatus. Londini, 1780, 8vo. Edited by John Rayner; but the collations and corrections of the text were by J. E. Wilmot, son of Sir Eardley Wilmot.

Translation.

A Translation of Glanville, by John Beames, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. To which are added notes. London, 1812. 8vo.

THOMAS AND RICHARD OF ELY.

Two monks of Ely distinguished themselves among the local historians who lived in the twelfth century. Thomas of Ely is only known by his writings. In his life of St. Etheldreda, he states that his father was a man of learning, and, as he mentions bishop Geoffrey, who was elected to the see of Ely in 1174, he must have lived after that date. Richard of Ely appears to have been distinguished above his fellow monks by his talents. We find that he was employed on a mission to the pope for the interests of his monastery between 1149 and 1154, and he appears as subprior of Ely in a document written in 1173.* In 1177 he was elected prior, and he died sometime before 1195, when the office of prior was occupied by another person.

Thomas of Ely wrote the history of his monastery from its first foundation to the year 1107, divided into two parts or books, the first of which, consisting chiefly of the life of St. Etheldreda, ended with the reign of Edgar, A. D. 970. This history is also found in an abridged form, in which the words of the original are strictly preserved, and which

* See Wharton, Angl. Sac. vol. i. præf. p. xlv.

is supposed to have been the work of the original author. It is from this epitome that portions have been printed by Mabillon, Gale, and Henry Wharton. Both texts are found not uncommonly in manuscripts. The chief value of this history consists in the old local traditions which it has preserved. Thomas states that the life of Etheldreda was translated from an English (*i. e.* Anglo-Saxon) biography. He also compiled a history of the translation and a collection of the posthumous miracles of the same saint, which, like all the early collections of this kind, is curious for the light it throws on the manners of the times. A good copy of the whole of Thomas's writings is preserved in the Cottonian Library (Domitian, A xv.).

Richard of Ely continued Thomas's History from the year 1107 to 1169. Boston of Bury mentions numerous sermons (*sermones quamplures*) by Richard prior of Ely, the first of which commenced with the words *Ascendet sicut virgultum coram.* Bale also ascribes to him *carmina diversa et epistolæ familiares.* The continuation of Thomas's History, printed by Wharton, is not Richard's own work, but a compilation from it.

The following extracts will furnish a specimen of the style of these two writers, and of the ordinary compilers of local histories in their time. The first is an account (probably taken from local tradition) of the martyrdom of the first abbot, Brihtnoth, in 981, by queen Alfrida, the mother of Ethelred, the king then reigning, taken from Thomas's History.

Quodam die contigit abbatem Bridnodum ad curiam regis Edelredi pro ecclesiæ negotiis proficisci. Cis Geldesdune per silvam quæ Nova Foresta vocatur ibat, ubi, ut fertur, ad usus naturæ remotiora loca repetiit; cavens, ut erat homo simplex et magnæ verecundiæ, undique circumspexit; reginam forte sub quadam arbore offendit nomine Aelstritham, suis veneficiis vacantem. Quo viso, non absque luctu et pavore ingenti in talibus se perceptam ingemuit: peritissima vero in arte, mechanica, ut fertur, habebatur. Sed

vir Domini, ex hujuscemodi rebus turbatus nimium, quantocius inde recessit, et ad regis curiam deveniens, magnifice susceptus, ecclesiæ suæ negotia citius adimplevit. Itaque munificentia regis perfunctus et exhilaratus, ad sua redire viam repetivit, et ne reginam licet abhorrens declinaret, ad ejus descendit aulam, quam fortuito ab omnibus vacuam penitus invenit; tamen celeriter reginæ innotuit illius adventus. Illa vero petivit ut cum festinatione ad illam solus veniret, et quod cum eo de salute animæ suæ nonnulla secrete tractare habuit mandavit. Cui ingresso plures enormitates lasciviæ nimis favorabiliter et inverecunde locuta est, precibus et promissis illum veluti sanctum Joseph mulier impudica si posset incontinentiæ sibi nodis alliceret, æstimans fraude maligna sanctum Dei in scelere secum commisceri, quoniam per illum metuerat detegi a malitia quam illam exercere invenit. Ille viribus et verbis obstat, negat, et abhorret. Unde in furorem commota, evocatis ex suo nequam famulatu ancillis, et quia concepit dolorem peperit iniquitatem, beatum virum neci tradere jussit, nolens eum superstitem quem fore dubitavit suorum aliquando scelerum proditorem. Excogitat quomodo illum extinguat, corpore a vulnere reservato immune, non apparente læsione. Admonet eas mucronum capulos in igne fervere, et sub ascellis sancti abbatis imprimi usqui dum spiritum excutiat. Quo facto clamavit intrinsicus, velut tali infortunio pavefacta. Unde ministri abbatis et qui cum illo venerant adcurrunt monachi, eum subita morte præventum ab eis audiunt, et ingemiscunt.

The second extract, taken from Richard's History, describes the miserable condition to which the country round the monastery was reduced when the monks of Ely had incurred the anger of king Stephen.

Propterea rex Stephanus ira graviter accensus omnia hæc reputavit ab episcopo Nigello machinari, et jussit evestigio possessiones ecclesiæ a suis undequaque distrahi in vindictam odiorum ejus. Succisa igitur monachis rerum facultate suarum, nimis ægre compelluntur in ecclesia, maxime ciborum inedia, unde non habentes stipendia victuum, gementes et anxii, reliquias thesaurorum quæ parvo in loco residuæ erant, viz. de octo feretris, argentum quod inveniunt et aurum sumpserunt; quæ deinceps minime sunt reformata. Oppresserat enim fames omnem regionem, et ægra seges victum omnem negaverat. Per viginti milliaria seu triginta non bos, non aratrum est inventus, qui particulam terræ excoleret. Vix parvissimus tunc modius emi poterat ducentis denariis. Tantaque hominum clades de inopia panis secuta est, ut per vicos et plateas centeni et milleni ad instar uteris inflati exanimes jacerent. Feris et volatilibus cadavera inhumata relinquebantur. Nam multo retro tempore talis tribulatio non fuit in cunctis terrarum regnis. Potentes per circuitum late vastando milites ex rapina conducunt, villas comburunt, captivos de longe ducentes miserabiliter tractabant, pios alligabant in compedibus et nobiles in manicis ferreis. Furit itaque rabies

vesana; invicta lætatur malitia. Non sexui non parcunt ætati; mille mortis species inferunt, ut ab afflictis pecunias excutiant. Fit clamor dirus plangentium, inhorruit luctus ubiqui mœrentium, et constat fuisse completum quod nunciatur in Apocalypsi Joannis: Quærent homines mori et fugiet mors ab eis.

Editions.

Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti in sæculorum classes distributa. Sæculum ii. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1691. fol. pp. 738—774. Vita S. Ethildritæ virginis et reginæ, abbatissæ Eliensis primæ. Auctore Thoma Eliensi monacho, qui sæculo xii. vixit. The first book of Thomas's Ely History.

Historiæ Britannicæ, Saxonicæ, Anglo-Danicæ, Scriptores xv. Ex vetustis codd. MSS. editi opera Thomæ Gale, Th. Pr. Oxoniæ, 1691, fol. pp. 489. Ex secundo libro Historiæ Elyensis. The second book of Thomas's History, with some omissions explained in Gale's preface.

Anglia Sacra, sive Collectio Historiarum, &c. (by Henry Wharton). Pars Prima, Londini, 1691. pp. xxxix—xlii. The prologue and commencement of Thomas's History of Ely. pp. 593—614. Thomæ monachi Eliensis Historia Eliensis [the abridged edition]. pp. 615—630. Richardi prioris Eliensis Continuatio Historiæ Eliensis ab anno MCVII. ad annum MCLXIX. p. 682. Thomæ monachi Eliensis Fragmentum de dignitate abbatis Eliensis.

GERVASE OF TILBURY, AND RICHARD BISHOP OF LONDON.

Gervase of Tilbury is one of the most amusing writers of this period. He is said to have been a kinsman of king Henry II. of England, but there appears to be no authority for this statement. He was probably born at Tilbury in Essex, but the date is unknown. He appears to have studied in the foreign schools; and he rose so high in the favour of the German emperor Otho IV. that that monarch made him marshall of the kingdom of Arles. Otho himself, who was elected emperor in 1198, was descended from king Henry's mother, the empress Matilda,

and was in constant intercourse with the English court. The *Otia Imperialia,* the only work Gervase is known with any certainty to have written, was compiled in the reign of king John, and was dedicated to the emperor Otho; but the author speaks from his own remembrance of events which occurred at the death of the young king Henry (the son of Henry II.), in 1183.*

The title which Gervase gave to his book appears to signify that it was intended for the amusement of the emperor's leisure hours. It is divided into three *decisiones,* or books, the contents of which are of a somewhat miscellaneous nature. It exhibits extensive reading and considerable learning, and its author appears to have shared largely in the taste then prevalent for collecting popular legends, a circumstance which renders his work especially valuable for the history of the popular superstitions of the Middle Ages. In the first book Gervase treats of the creation of the world, of the elements, of paradise, of natural phenomena, and of various matters connected with these subjects;—of fauns and satyrs (i. e. fairies and spirits supposed to haunt the woods), of the sons and immediate descendants of Adam, of the origin and history of music, of Seth, Enoch, Methusalem, &c. and of the Deluge. In the second book he treats of the division of the sons of Noah, of the four empires, and of the threefold division of the earth, which is followed by a detailed geographical description of each country and of its singularities. The author then proceeds to give a succinct historical account of the Israelites, of the kings of Latium, of the destruction of Troy, of the kingdoms of the Romans, Jews, Medes, Macedonians, Egyptians, and Persians, of the empire of the Romans and the origin of the Goths and Lombards, of the Britons (in which he follows Geoffrey

* Otia Imper. Decis. ii. c. 20.

of Monmouth), of the Francs, of the Roman emperors subsequent to Charlemain, of the succession of the kings of France, and of the Norman kings of England; which is followed by a detailed description of the Holy Land, and shorter descriptions of Egypt, Europe in general, and Cisalpine Gaul in particular. The remaining chapters of the second book treat of the origin of provinces and states, of the settlement of the immediate descendants of Noah, and of the six ages of the world. The third book treats of wonders of every description, natural and artificial, and abounds in curious popular legends relating chiefly to England and to the district of Arles. As examples we may quote a legend of St. Cæsarius of Arles, and an account of a class of hobgoblins, a belief in which formed part of the popular mythology of England in the twelfth century.

De vento quem in chirotheca conclusit sanctus.

Quia vero ventorum ac montium fecimus mentionem, asserentes montes plurimos omnibus ventis esse altiores, illud quoque annectimus, valles esse sic montium contiguitate conclusas, quod ad illas nunquam aura pervenit. Ecce in regno Arelatensi, episcopatu Vasconensi, castrum Divionis Colonis inhabitatum. Hoc in valle, circumquaque montibus circumsepta, positum est, in quod [eo quod ventus nec levissimus subintraverat usque ad tempora Caroli M. sterilis semper vallis extiterat, omnique humano commodo prorsus inutilis. Verum infœcunditatem ipsius comperiens archiepiscopus Arelatensis, sanctissimus vir, miraculis præclarus, Cæsarius, mare civitati suæ subjacens adiit, et chirothecam suam vento marino repletam strinxit. Accedens itaque ad vallem, inutilem tunc habitam, in nomine Christi chirothecam plenam vento scopulo cuidam injecit, ventumque perpetuum jussit emittere. Sicque factum est, quod statim rupit facto foramine per scissuram exhaustum ventum semper eructuat, quem *pontianum* vulgus nominat, quasi a ponto illuc virtute divina translatum. Hic, inquam, impetuosus terminos cujusdam subterfluentis aquæ non transgreditur, omnia fœcundat, omnia salubrat, et dum prætereuntes a fronte salutat, eos altiore flatus algore flagellat, quos vallis confinium egressos quasi prohibitus ne datas sibi metas excedat non approximat.

The second extract relates to a superstition which still exists in some of the more secluded parts of our island.

De Neptunis sive Portunis, qui homines illudunt.

Sicut inter homines mirabilia quædam natura producit, ita spiritus in corporibus aereis quæ assumunt ex divina permissione ludibria sui faciunt. Ecce enim in Anglia dæmones quosdam habet, dæmones inquam, nescio dixerim an secretas et ignotæ generationis effigies, quos Galli *Neptunos* Angli *Portunos* nominant. Istis insitum est, quod simplicitatem fortunatorum colonorum amplectuntur, et cum nocturnas propter domesticas operas agunt vigilias, subito clausis januis ad ignem calefiunt, et ranunculas ex sinu projectas prunis impositas comedunt, senili vultu, facie corrugata, statura pusilli, dimidium pollicis non habentes. Panniculis consertis induuntur, et si quid gestandum in domo fuerit aut onerosi operis agendum, ad operandum se jungunt, citius humana facilitate expediunt. Id illis insitum est, ut obsequi possint, et obesse non possint. Verum unicum quasi modulum nocendi habent. Cum enim inter ambiguas noctis tenebras Angli solitarii quandoque equitant, Portunus nonnunquam invisus equitanti se copulat, et cum diutius comitatur euntem, tandem loris arreptis equum in lutum ad manum ducit, in quo dum infixus volutatur, Portunus exiens cachinnum facit, et hujuscemodi ludibrio humanam simplicitatem deridet.

As the author of the *Otia Imperialia*, Gervase of Tilbury belongs rather to the reign of John than to that of Henry II. But tradition has ascribed to him a treatise in form of a dialogue on the Exchequer and its officers, which the author says was begun in the 23rd of Henry II. (A.D. 1177), and which appears from internal evidence to have been completed about the end of the following year. The writer of this book must have lived early in the reign of Henry II. for it appears from his own statements that he had seen Robert earl of Leicester, the chief justice, who died in 1168; that he had conversed with Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester, who is said to have died in 1171; and that he had supplied the place in the Exchequer of Nigellus bishop of Ely, who died in 1169, during the temporary absence of that prelate.

Madox, who published the *Dialogus de Scaccario* in his History and Antiquities of the Exchequer, has attempted to prove that Gervase of Tilbury was not the author of that treatise. His chief arguments are, that we have no reason for believing that Gervase ever was a clerk of the Exche-

quer; that the author appears to have been an ecclesiastic, which could not have been the case with the person who was appointed to so decidedly a lay office as that of marshal of Arles; and that Gervase, if he were (as is pretended) grandson of Henry II. could not at the time the book was written be of a sufficient age to be identified with this writer. These negative arguments, however, seem to us to have no great weight. There appears to be no proof of the affinity between Gervase of Tilbury and Henry II. and the former may have been a young man in the 23rd year of that monarch's reign, and still have written a work in the reign of John at no very advanced age. The author of the *Otia Imperialia* must have been a clerk, and his book has quite as much appearance of having been written by an ecclesiastic as the Dialogue on the Exchequer. We do not know enough of his history to be able to state that he never held a place in that office. An argument of much greater weight is furnished by the Red Book of the Exchequer, written in the reign of Henry III. which contains a copy of the treatise alluded to. The writer of that document, as quoted by Madox, appears to ascribe this book distinctly to Richard bishop of London.* Richard was a son of Nigellus bishop of Ely; he held the dignities of a canon of London, archdeacon of Ely, and dean of Lincoln, and is said to have purchased the office of high treasurer in 1169, which he filled so much to the satisfaction of the king during the whole of his reign that before he died he obtained for him the bishopric of London, to which he was consecrated on the 31st of December 1189. He died on the 10th of September 1198. It must be observed, however, that there is nothing in the book itself to induce us to believe that its author held the high office of treasurer.

* Madox, Hist. of Excheq. vol. ii. pp. 345, 346 (second edition).

The Dialogue on the Exchequer is divided into two books. The author tells us that when he was sitting in the room of a chamber which looked upon the river Thames, in the 23rd year of the reign of Henry II., he heard a voice which said to him, "Master, knowest thou not that in science or treasure which is hidden there is no utility?"* This voice turns out to be that of a fellow clerk, who urges him to commit to writing his great knowledge of the affairs of the Exchequer. He expresses his reluctance to this undertaking, and among other reasons he represents that it would be impossible to treat the subject otherwise than in rude language with barbarous words.† He is, however, finally persuaded, and proceeds to describe the nature of the Exchequer, and the meaning of the word. The passage in which he defines the name, and gives his opinion of its derivation, will serve as a specimen of the style of this book, which it must be confessed differs considerably from that of the *Otia Imperialia* of Gervase of Tilbury.

Discipulus. Quid est scaccarium?

Magister. Scaccarium tabula est quadrangula quæ longitudinis quasi decem pedum, latitudinis quinque, ad modum mensæ circumsedentibus apposita undique habet limbum altitudinis quasi quatuor digitorum, ne quid appositum excidat. Superponitur autem scaccario superiori pannus in termino Paschæ emptus, non quilibet, sed niger virgis distinctus, distantibus a se virgis vel pedis vel palmæ extentæ spatio. In spatiis autem calculi sunt juxta ordines suos de quibus alias dicetur. Licet autem tabula talis scaccarium dicatur, transmutatur tamen hoc nomen ut ipsa quoque curia quæ consedente scaccario est scaccarium dicatur; adeo ut si quandoque per sententiam aliquid de communi consilio fuerit constitutum, dicatur factum ad scaccarium illius vel illius anni. Quod autem hodie dicitur ad scaccarium, olim dicebatur ad taleas.

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* Anno xxiij. regni regis Henrici secundi, cum sederem ad fenestram speculæ quæ est juxta fluvium Tamensem, factum est verbum hominis in impetu loquentis ad me, dicens, Magister, non legisti quod in scientia vel thesauro abscondito nulla sit utilitas?

† De hiis rebus quas petis impossibile est nisi rusticano sermone et communibus loqui verbis.

D. Quæ est ratio hujus nominis?

M. Nulla mihi verior ad præsens occurrit, quam quod scaccarii lusilis similem habet formam.

D. Numquid antiquorum prudentia pro sola forma sic nominavit, cum et simili ratione possit Tabularium appellari?

M. Merito te scrupulosum dixi. Est et alia, sed occultior. Sicut enim in scaccario lusili quidam ordines sunt pugnatorum, et certis legibus vel limitibus procedunt vel subsistunt, præsidentibus aliis et aliis præcedentibus, sic in hoc quidam præsident, quidam assident ex officio, et non est cuiquam liberum leges constitutas excedere; quod erit ex consequentibus manifestum. Item sicut in lusili pugna committitur inter reges, sic in hoc inter duos principaliter conflictus est et pugna cōmmittitur, thesaurarium scilicet et vicecomitem qui assidet ad compotum, residentibus aliis tanquam judicibus ut videant et judicent.

The writer proceeds to treat of the different offices and officers of the exchequer, and of their duties, privileges, and dignities, of the assay of money, scutage, prosecution of murder, of danegeld, forests, essarts, of hides, hundreds, and counties. In the second book he treats in successive order of summonses, of the duties of sheriffs, of purprestures and escheats, of the rents (*census*) of forests, of pleas and conventions, of enforcing payments, &c.

The author of this treatise tells us that he had written a history of the affairs of the reign of Henry II., to which he had given the title of *Tricolumnus*, because it was arranged in three columns, the first containing the affairs of the church, the second the political history of Henry's reign, and the third miscellaneous matters and judgments of the courts of law.* This work appears to be entirely lost.

Bale, as usual, attributes to Gervase of Tilbury a number of writings, most of which are nothing more than

* Libellus quidem est a nobis utcunque tempore juventutis editus de tripartita regni Angliæ historia sub illustri Anglorum rege Henrico secundo, quem quia per tres columnas per universum digessimus, diximus *Tricolumnum.* In prima quidem de ecclesiæ Anglicanæ negotiis plurimis, et de nonnullis rescriptis sedis apostolicæ; in secunda vero de insignibus prædicti regis gestis, quæ fidem humanam excedunt; in tertia vero de pluribus

chapters of the Otia Imperialia. The only one of which there can be any doubt, is described by the old bibliographer as *Illustrationes Galfredi,* lib. iv. commencing, he tells us, with the words, *Descriptio quantitatis et mult.*

Editions.

Historiæ Francorum scriptores.... opera ac studio filii post patrem Francisci Duchesne. Tomus III. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1641, fol. pp. 363—379. Fragmentum de Regibus Francorum et Anglorum, ex Libro de Mirabilibus Mundi, qui alias Solatium Imperatoris, seu Otia Imperialia, nominatur. Auctore Gervasio Tilleberiensi marescallo regni Arelatensis.

Gervasii Tilberiensis, Arelatensis quondam regni mareschalli, De Imperio Romano, et Gottorum, Lombardorum, Brittonum, Francorum, Anglorumque regnis, Commentatio, ex ipsius Otiis Imperialibus ad Ottonem IV. Imperatorem, cum aliis, quæ aversa monstrat pagina, nunc primum edita a Joachimo Joanne Madero. Helmestadii, 1673, 4to.

Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium illustrationi inservientes.... cura Godefridi Guilielmi Leibnitii. Hanoveræ, 1707, fol. pp. 881—1004, Gervasii Tilberiensis Otia Imperialia ad Ottonem IV. Imperatorem ex MSStis.

Scriptorum Brunsvicensia illustrantium tomus secundus.... cura Godefridi Guilielmi Leibnitii. Hanoveræ, 1710, fol. pp. 751—784. Emendationes et supplementa Otiorum Imperialium Gervasii Tilberiensis, tomo primo editorum ex MSStis.

Antiquus Dialogus de Scaccario, Gervasio de Tilbury vulgo adscriptus, E duobus vetustis Codd. MSS. *Nigro* et *Rubro*, in Scaccario regio asservatis, Nunc primum editus. Dialogum recensuit, Lectiones Variantes Notasque adjecit, ac Dissertationem Epistolarem præmisit, Thomas Madox. Londoniæ, 1711, fol. An Appendix to the first edition of Madox's History and Antiquities of the Exchequer.

The History and Antiquities of the Exchequer of the Kings of England.... By Thomas Madox, Esq. The Second Edition. London, 1769, 4to. vol. ii. pp. 329—452. Antiquus Dialogus de Scaccario, &c. The same title throughout as in the previous edition.

Translation.

The Ancient Dialogue concerning the Exchequer, published from two manuscript volumes, called the Black Book and the Red Book. Published originally in Latin, by Tho. Madox, Esq. Historiographer. Now carefully translated into English, by a gentleman of the Inner Temple. London, 1758, 4to.

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negotiis tam publicis quam familiaribus, necnon curiæ et judiciis agitur. Hic si forte in manus tuas inciderit, cave ne se effugiat; utilis enim poterit futuris esse temporibus et jocundus his qui de regni statu sub prædicto principe solliciti fuerint. Dialog. de Scacc. p. 369 (second ed.)

BALDWIN ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

ARCHBISHOP BALDWIN is best known in history as the preacher of the third crusade. He is said to have been born of poor parents in the city of Exeter, where he gained his living by exercising the profession of schoolmaster, until, having taken holy orders, and having attracted notice by his literary acquirements and by his piety, he was raised to the dignity of archdeacon, which however he resigned in order to become a monk in the Cistercian abbey of Ford in Devonshire. We learn from his friend Giraldus that he here so far outshone his brethren in the virtues requisite for the monastic life, that within a year after he had assumed the habit he was elected abbot.* A few years afterwards he was promoted to the bishopric of Worcester, to which he was consecrated in 1180.† In 1184, he rendered himself remarkable by his spirited opposition to the powerful Ranulph de Glanville, in protecting from his vengeance a knight named Gilbert de Plumptun.‡ In 1184, after the death of archbishop Richard, the right of election to the primacy became a subject of obstinate contention between the monks of Canterbury and the bishops of the province, and, the king having interfered in vain, both parties carried their claims before the pope. After a great expenditure of money and time, the bishops obtained the right of voting

* Giraldus Cambr. Itinerar. Camb. lib. ii. c. 14. Gervas. Dorob. Act. Pontif. col. 1675. Godwin, de Episcopis.

† Wharton, Angl. Sac. vol. i. p. 447.

‡ Roger Hoveden, p. 622.

in the election, and the king appointed a time and place for the election. But the monks were still obstinate, and refused to attend, whereupon the bishops proceeded to choose Baldwin bishop of Worcester, and the king confirmed their election. With some difficulty the king at last persuaded the monks to comply, and Baldwin was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury on the 19th of May 1185. The monks were, however, never sincerely reconciled to him, and he was engaged in constant disputes with them during the remainder of his life.* In 1188, after the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in the latter part of the preceding year, archbishop Baldwin took the cross, and travelled over the kingdom to preach a general crusade. He was accompanied by Giraldus Cambrensis, and in part of his route by Ranulph de Glanville, and his success was so great that in Wales alone he raised about three thousand men.† The advanced age of king Henry, and other circumstances, rendered the archbishop's exertions on this occasion useless, but on the accession of Richard I. he again entered with zeal into the project of a crusade. In 1189, soon after king Henry's death, Baldwin consecrated at once four bishops, Godfrey of Winchester, William of Ely, Hubert of Salisbury, and Richard of London; and within a few days after, by the award of the pope, a final reconciliation was effected between him and his monks, on the condition that on one side the prior whom the archbishop had appointed against the will of the monks should be deposed, and the chapel which he had built in the suburb of Canterbury should be demolished, while on the other side the monks should promise to be obedient in future to the mandates of the archbishop. The arch-

* An account of these disputes will be found in Gervase of Dover, coll. 1676—1678, and in Godwin.

† Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin. Camb. lib. i. c. 1. and lib. ii. c. 13.

bishop thereupon chose another prior with the consent of the monks, but they deposed him as soon as they received intelligence of Baldwin's death.* Soon after his disputes with the monks were thus appeased, archbishop Baldwin quitted England and embarked at Marseilles for Syria, where he arrived when the Christians engaged in the siege of Acre were disheartened by the want of provision and the desolations of pestilence, and his last days were occupied in administering help and comfort to the sufferers.† He himself died before the end of the year 1190.‡

Giraldus describes archbishop Baldwin as a man of a darkish complexion, of an open and handsome countenance, of mean stature, and in body rather slender than corpulent. He was modest and sober in his living, a man of few words, and slow to anger. But Giraldus adds (which seems inconsistent with his unflinching opposition to the monks of Canterbury,) that he wanted vigour and severity of character, and that on account of his mildness and remissness in enforcing discipline, he was better fitted to be a simple monk than an abbot or a bishop; and he assures us that his negligence in this respect was so well known, that on one occasion the pope wrote him a letter in which he addressed him ironically as *monacho ferventissimo, abbati calido, episcopo tepido, archiepiscopo remisso.*

Baldwin appears to have spent much of his time in literary pursuits. His principal works now extant are a treatise *de commendatione fidei;* another, *de sacramento altaris,* which was written while he was abbot of Ford, and dedicated to Bartholomew bishop of Exeter; and sixteen tracts on various religious subjects. All these books have been printed. They are written in a style which

* Roger Hoveden, Annal. p. 661.

† Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin. Camb. lib. ii. c. 14.

‡ Roger Hoveden, Annal. p. 685.

shows their author to have been a man of deep reading. The following extract from the second of the short tracts, entitled *De corruptis moribus cleri et populi,* contains some reflections on the manners of his age, and exhibits the expectation so prevalent in the twelfth century that the world was approaching to its end.

Signa quoque, quæ diem judicii præventura sunt, præsentibus moribus nostris configurabuntur, et qualia visibiliter futura sunt, talia spiritualiter in nobis jam apparent. Scriptum est: Sol convertetur in tenebras, et luna in sanguinem, antequam veniat dies Domini magnus et terribilis. Quod in firmamento sunt sol et luna, hoc in ecclesia Dei sunt ordo rectorum et vita subditorum: ecclesiastica quoque authoritas, et sæcularis potestas. Luna sole inferior est, et a se non lucet, sed a sole. Sic et vita subditorum inferior est quam vita prælatorum, per quos accendi debent et illuminari. Ad eos quippe dictum est: Vos estis lux mundi. In iis autem rectoribus, qui ignorant et errant, qui cæci sunt et duces cæcorum, sol convertitur in tenebras; ideoque in vita subditorum luna convertitur in sanguinem, in sanguinem videlicet corruptionis et crudelitatis. Ecce enim refrigescit charitas multorum, et abundat iniquitas. Ascendit sanguis de lacu usque ad frænos equorum, usque ad rectores populorum, et sanguis sanguinem tetigit. Non inveniunt laici in nobis quod debeant imitari; inveniunt quod volunt persequi. Persequuntur nos calumniis, persequuntur injuriis, persequuntur nos damnis, declarationibus, opprobriis; tandem persequuntur et gladiis. Nuper enim furor persequentium in capite nos vulneravit; qui Christi Domini beatissimum Thomam præsulem nostrum, ob insignem ecclesiasticæ libertatis defensionem, usque ad mortem persecuti sunt. Et si verum est, quod causa rei fama sparsit, et multorum conscientia metuit, vita nostra indisciplinata tanti mali seminarium fuit, tantique odii fomitem ministravit. Non enim existimavit nos homo sicut ministros dei et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei; sed judicium Dei portabit, quicunque est ille.

A Pœnitential by this prelate is preserved, with some other tracts, in a manuscript in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.* The old bibliographers ascribe to him, in addition to the works already mentioned, commentaries on the books of Kings; on the sacraments of the church; a collection of thirty-three sermons; a collection of epistles; and other books with the titles, *De orthodoxæ fidei dogmatibus; De sectis hæreticorum; De unitate charitatis;*

* See Wharton. Auctuar. Hist. Dogmat. J. Usserii, pp. 407—409.

De sacerdotio Joannis Hyrcani; Super eruditione Giraldi; De amore; Contra Henricum Wintoniensem; Commendatio virginitatis; Carmen devotionis; De cruce; De angeli nuncio; Mythologia; De utilitate et virtute sermonis dei vivi. Several of his tracts and sermons are preserved in a MS. at Lambeth. Some of the books mentioned in the above list are of very doubtful authority.

Editions.

The treatise De Sacramento Altaris is said by Tanner to have been printed at Cambridge in 1521, 8vo. and in 1531, 4to.

Bibliothecæ Patrum Cisterciensium.... tomus quintus.... Labore et studio F. Bertrandi Fissier. Bono-fonte, Anno Domini, 1662, fol. pp. 1—159. Balduini, ex abbate Fordensi ordinis Cisterc. Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, opera. The sixteen tracts and the treatises De commendatione fidei and De sacramento altaris.

WALTER MAPES.

WALTER MAPES, or more correctly Map,* was one of the most remarkable of the literary men at the court of Henry II. He was a native of the borders of Wales, probably of Gloucestershire or Herefordshire; † and his parents, he tells us, had rendered important services to king Henry both before and after his accession to the throne.‡ Mapes studied in the University of Paris, where, as he informs us, he was witness to many of the tumults between the scholars and the townsmen;§ and he

* He gives himself this name in the last chapter of his treatise *De Nugis Curialium*, and it is so spelt in all the most authentic documents. The other has been adopted more popularly in modern times.

† He calls himself a Marcher (qui marchio sum Walensibus. De Nug. Cur. Distinc. ii., c. 23), and calls the Welshmen his countrymen (Compatriotæ nostri, Distinc. ii. c. 20). He tells so many Herefordshire legends in this book, that we may be led to suppose him of that county. He calls England *mater nostra*, Distinc. iv. c. 1.

‡ De Nug. Cur. Distinc. v. c. 6.

§ De Nug. Cur. Distinc. v. c. 5.

tells us in another part of his work that he had attended the school of Girard la Pucelle,* which was probably in or soon after 1160, when that eminent teacher is said to have commenced lecturing there. Soon after this he appears to have been at the court and in the favour of the English king. He was familiar in the household of Thomas Becket, and repeats conversations he had with that remarkable man, before he was made archbishop of Canterbury,† which event occurred in 1162. In 1173, Walter Mapes presided at the assize at Gloucester as one of the judges ambulant,‡ and he can hardly then have been less than thirty years of age. In the same year he was with the court at Limoges, and had the care of providing for Peter archbishop of Tarentaise; § and he appears to have accompanied the king during his war against his sons.‖ The next event of his life of which he gives us any notice was a mission to the court of Louis le Jeune, king of France, with whom he lived a short time on intimate terms; and soon after this he was sent by the English king to attend the council which had been called by pope Alexander III. at Rome, and in his way was hospitably entertained at the court of Henry the Liberal, count of Champagne.¶ At this council Mapes was held in so much consideration that he was deputed to examine and argue with those deputies of the then rising sect of the Waldenses, who had been sent to Rome to

* De Nug. Cur. Distinc. ii, c. 7. Vidi Parisius Lucam Hungarum in schola magistri Girardi Puellæ.

† De Nug. Cur. ii. 23.

‡ Madox, Hist. Excheq. vol. i. p. 701. from the Mag. Rot. 19 H. II. Giraldus Cambrensis informs us that Mapes frequently acted with the judges itinerant.

§ De Nug. Curial. Distinc. ii, c. 3.

‖ De Nug. Cur. Distinc. iv. c. 1.

¶ De Nug. Cur. Distinc. v. c. 5.

obtain the papal authority for preaching and reading the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue.* This council was probably the Lateran council held in the year 1179.

Walter Mapes informs us that he was the personal enemy of the king's illegitimate son Geoffrey, afterwards archbishop of York, but that his own great influence with his sovereign shielded him from his resentment; Mapes had resisted several of Geoffrey's acts of extortion and injustice, and had answered his threats with cutting sneers. When Geoffrey was elected to the see of Lincoln, about the year 1176, Mapes was appointed to succeed him as canon of St. Paul's,† and with this appointment he also held that of precentor of Lincoln.‡ He likewise held many other smaller ecclesiastical preferments, among which was the parsonage of Westbury in Gloucestershire.§

Mapes appears to have had a special employment in the court of the young king Henry, after he had been crowned by his father, until his untimely death in 1182, and he shows great affection for the memory of that prince, and speaks leniently of his errors.‖ It appears by the anecdotes related by himself and by Giraldus Cambrensis that he accompanied king Henry II. in nearly all his progresses. He was with him in Anjou soon after the election of Geoffrey to the archbishopric of York, in 1183.¶ In 1196 Mapes was appointed archdeacon of Oxford;** from which date we lose sight of him entirely.

* The account of his interview with the Waldenses is given in the De Nug. Cur. Distinc. i. c. 31.

† De Nug. Cur. Distinc. v. c. 6.

‡ In a charter of Ralph de Diceto, given in Tanner, Mapes is described as Lincolniensis Ecclesiæ præcentor et noster concanonicus.

§ Giraldus Cambrensis, Spec. Eccles. in the Appendix to the Introduction to the Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes, pp. xxxi, and xxxiv.

‖ De Nug. Cur. Distinc. iv. c. 1.

¶ De Nug. Cur. Distinc. v. c. 6.

** De cantore Lincolniensi Waltero Map in Oxenefordensem archidia-

We owe these few details of the life of Walter Mapes chiefly to his own treatise *De Nugis Curialium.* He was evidently a man, not only of much learning and extensive reading, but of great taste for lighter literature. His mind appears to have been stored with legends and anecdotes, and he was universally admired for his ready wit and humour. He speaks of himself as enjoying the reputation of a poet,* but he gives us no clue to the character of the compositions by which he had entitled himself to this name. His Latin is very unequal; but we are perhaps not entirely competent to pronounce judgment in this respect, as the text in the unique manuscript of his prose Latin work which has come down to us is extremely corrupt. His style is in general not pure; he often becomes wearisome by his attempts at embellishment, and his writings are too much interspersed with puns and jests. His knowledge of the world was evidently extensive, and his observations on men and politics are judicious and acute. He sometimes rises above the prejudices of his age, as in his account of Arnold of Brescia in his book De Nugis Curialium, whilst at other times he is influenced by the weakest feelings of superstition, as in what he says of the miracles of Peter archbishop of Tarentaise and of the monk Gregory of Gloucester in the same work. Mapes is distinguished by the same love of the popular legends of his country which was so remarkable in his friend Giraldus Cambrensis. His sketch of the history of the Anglo-Norman kings down to his own time, with which his treatise De Nugis Curialium closes, is invaluable.

conum translatione facta. Rad. de Dicet. col. 695, Conf. Joh. Bromton, Chron. col. 1271.

* Conf. De Nug. Curial. Distinc. i. c. 10, Distinc. iv. c. 2, and Distinc. v. c. 1.

The earliest work that we can trace from the pen of this writer is a playful treatise against marriage, in Latin prose. Mapes says that he once found one of his intimate friends in the court in a state of great melancholy, and, on questioning him, he discovered that he was not only in love but that he was actually going to marry. Mapes expostulated with his friend on what he looked upon as a rash action; but finding no favourable hearing, he wrote him this tract in the form of an Epistle, addressing his friend by the feigned name of *Rufinus*, and appropriating to himself that of Valerius. He takes as his text the line,

Loqui prohibeor, et tacere non possum,

and enforces his arguments by examples taken from ancient fable and history, and from the Old Testament. Mapes tells us that this work was much admired when it was made public, and that copies of it were speedily spread abroad, but that, it being published anonymously, there were some who would have deprived him of the honour of being its author.* In fact, this treatise is still rather common in manuscripts, under the title *Dissuasio Valerii ad Rufinum philosophum de ducenda uxore.* He subsequently acknowledged the authorship of this Epistle, and inserted it in his larger work *De Nugis Curialium.*

This latter work is unfortunately preserved in only one manuscript (in the Bodleian Library at Oxford), and that a very incorrect one. It is divided into five books, or, as as he calls them, *Distinctiones*, and forms a singular medley of various subjects. Mapes tells us that it was written at the court by snatches *(raptim)*, at different times and

* Scimus hanc [Epistolam] placuisse multis, avide rapitur, transcribitur intente, plena jocunditate legitur; meam tamen esse quidam sed de plebe negant. De Nug. Curial. Distinc. iv. c. 5.

under different circumstances; and this is sufficiently evident, not only from the repetition of the same story in different parts of the book, (as those of king Herla, of the Cluniac monk who quitted his monastery to re-embark in worldly affairs, and of Edric the Wild,) but from the indications of several different dates as the period of composing different portions of the work. It appears from the 15th chapter of the first Distinction, that the author was writing that part of the book when the news arrived of the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, which must therefore have been the latter part of the year 1187; in the 11th chapter of the fourth Distinction, Mapes tells us that Pope Lucius had just succeeded pope Alexander III., and that the year before this in which he was writing Lucius had been bishop of Ostia, so that it must have been written *early* in 1182, yet at the beginning of the same Distinction he says that he is writing on St. Barnabas's Day (the 11th of June,) the same day on which the young king Henry died in 1182, evidently looking back to that event as being some time past; and in the sixth chapter of the fifth Distinction he speaks in one place of the death of king Henry II., which occurred in 1189, a little after which he alludes to events which occurred when Richard I. and Philip of France were in the Holy Land, and immediately afterwards speaks of Henry II. as being alive; so that the work is evidently a number of scraps collected together and revised and augmented at different times by its author. It appears that Mapes had become disgusted with the intrigues and jealousies of the court; and that while in this state of mind one of his friends named Geoffrey requested him to write a poem, the subject of which was to be "The sayings and doings which had not yet been committed to writing." Mapes, in answer, proceeds to compile a work in prose, in which his object

seems to have been to show that it was impossible for any one involved in the troubles of a court to apply himself to poetry with success; but as he proceeds he seems to have lost sight of his primary object, and goes on stringing together stories and legends which have no intimate connection with the general subject. In the first book he begins by comparing the English court to the infernal regions, drawing comparisons with the fabled labours of Tantalus, Sisyphus, &c., after which he proceeds to relate some legends and stories relating to the follies and crimes of courts, which are followed by monastic stories, a bitter lamentation over the taking of Jerusalem, accounts of the origin of the different orders of monks and of the Templars and Hospitallers, with some severe reflections on their growing corruptions, and a long and very violent attack on his especial enemies the Cistercians. Next we have interesting accounts of different sects of heretics which had sprung up in the twelfth century, and the first Distinction ends with the story of three remarkable hermits. The second Distinction begins with tales relating to pious monks and hermits and their supposed miracles, which are followed by some anecdotes of the manners of the Welsh, and subsequently by a curious collection of fairy legends. The five chapters of the third Distinction consist of a series of stories of a very romantic nature. The fourth distinction opens with the Epistle of Valerius to Rufinus, already noticed, which is followed by another series of tales and legends, many of them of great interest, from their connection with popular manners or with historical personages. The fifth Distinction contains a few historical traditions relating to earl Godwin and Cnut the Dane, followed by a sketch of the history of the English court from the reign of William Rufus to that of Henry II., which occupies the

larger portion of this division of the work. The two following stories relating to the manners of the Welsh will give a notion of the general character of this singular book.

De hospitalitate Walensium.

Contra hunc morem contigit vir quidam illarum partium hospitem suscepit, ipsoque relicto domi, sumpta lancea mane facto in agenda sua perrexit, et pernoctavlt alias, et secundo mane reversus non invento quem quærebat hospite quærit ab uxore quo devenisset. At illa, "Jacebat diluculo, et aperto contra se hostio visaque tempestate maxima ventorum et nivium, ait, Deus bone! quam periculosa procella! et ego respondi, Modo facit bonum perhendinare ignavo viro in domo sapientis. Tum ille cum magno gemitu ait, Pessima fœmina, non perhendino; et exiliit cum lancea, nec potui eum revocare." Vir se delusum dicens ipsam sua transfodit lancea, et cum ejulatu flebili vestigiis inhæsit hospitis, diuque secutus lupum invenit occisum, et post illum circa semitam præcedentis octo, et demum lanceam fractam, post hæc ipsum a longe sedentem vidit, unumque sed maximum lupum ipsi de proximo insilientem quem sequebatur. Tum ille properans abegit lupum, pedibusque hospitis sui provolutus veniam sibi de uxoris delicto petit, enarrans ab illa ultionem. Ille miser omnino exanimis fere lupum videns expectantem quid fieret, "Hoc," inquit, "tibi pacto meæ te mortis immunem concedo, ut te hinc dum quid mihi virium et vitæ superest amoveas, quatinus in incursu lupi qui mihi tam improbe quasi adhærere videtur ipsum interficere possim." Secessit igitur in partem rogatus, et lupus in vulneratum irruit, et ab ipso lancea transfixus est quam ei commodaverat qui astabat. Seminecem igitur domum secum referens hospitem hospes, paulo post mortuum sepelivit. Hæc fuit odii prima causa inter generationes vivi et mortui, et ultionis mutuæ usque in hodiernum diem. Cumque parentes vivi sine culpa sint, sine vituperio non sunt, ob causam factæ suspicionis et proverbium uxoris invidæ. Et quia de Walensibus sermo cœpit, veniat in medium judicium diu inter eos quæsitum et tarde productum.

De Luelino rege Walensi.

Rex Walliæ Luelinus, vir infidus ut fere omnes decessores ejus et posteri, uxorem habebat pulcherrimam, quam vehementius amabat quam amaretur ab ipsa, unde se totum armavit in insidias castitatis illius, et suspiciosissima zelotipia decoctus nihil aliud agebat quam ut non tangeretur ab alio. Pervenit ad eum forte juvenem illarum partium elegantissimum, fama, nobilitate morum, generis, et formæ, statuque rerum et personæ felicissimum, somniasse quod cum ipsa rem habuisset. Delusum se dicit rex, et quasi de re veraciter acta stomachatur, dolet, et dolo comprehendit innoxium, et si non obstet reverentia parentum et timor ultionis ipsum cruciatibus affliget ad mortem. Ut moris est vadem se offert pro juvene tota cognatio, et cavere

judicio sisti. Ipse negat et judicium statim fieri petit. Repulsi de repulsa queruntur, et dum tenetur in vinculis vindictam differunt. Multi ad judicium sæpe conveniunt tum jussu principis, tum alterius invitatione partis, et in omni contractu defecti plures invocant undequaque prudentes. Tandem unum consulunt quem fama faciebant præcipuum, et res non minus, quibus ille, "Judicia terræ nostræ sequi oportet, et quæ statuerunt patres præcepta longaque consuetudine firmata sunt, nulla possimus ratione destruere. Sequamur eos, et antequam in contrarium decreta ducent publica nihil novum proferamus. Ab antiquissimis promulgatum est institutis, ut qui regis Walliæ reginam adulterio deturpaverit, mille solutis regi vaccis cætera indemnis liber abibit. De uxoribus similiter principum et magnatum quorumcunque secundum singulorum dignitates constituta est pœna sub certo numero. Iste accusatur de somnio concubitus cum regina, nec inficiatur de veritate criminis confessa. Certum est quod mille vaccæ darentur. De somnio damus judicium, quod juvenis hic mille vaccas in conspectu regis super ripam stagni de Behthenio statuat in ordine, sole lucente, ut sint umbræ singularum in aqua, et sint umbræ regis, vaccæ vero cujus ante, cum sit somnium veritatis umbra." Approbata est ab omnibus sententia hæc et executioni mandata, licet objurgante Luelino.

Walter Mapes was distinguished as a writer in the Anglo-Norman language, as well as in Latin. It is to him we owe a large portion of the cycle of the romances of the Round Table in the earliest form in which they are known. This first series of these romances consists of the *Roman de St. Graal,* or the history of the Graal before its pretended arrival in Britain, brought by Joseph of Arimathea; of the *Roman de Merlin;* of the *Roman de Lancelot du Lac;* of the *Quête du Saint Graal,* which is a sequel to the adventures of Lancelot; and of the death of King Arthur, forming the *Roman de la Mort Arthus.* The three latter were the work of Mapes, as we learn from the concluding paragraph of the *Mort Arthus;** and from a later writer of another branch of the series, Helie de Borron, who completed the *Roman de Tristan* in the reign

* The passage stands thus in a very good MS. of these romances in the British Museum, in three volumes, MSS. Addit. Nos. 10,272-3-4.—Si se taist ore maistre Gautiers Map de l'estoire de Lancelot, car ben l'a toute menée à fin selonc les choses que en avindrent, et define ensi sen livre si outréement que après che n'en poroit nus raconter chose qu'il ne mentist.

of Henry III.* These authorities appear to intimate that Mapes translated his romances from a Latin original, which is distinctly stated in some of the manuscripts;† but we have no other evidence of the existence of such an original, and it is probable that a great part of the incidents of the story was the work of the writer's own imagination, the whole being founded on popular legends then floating about. The love of legendary stories which characterises the treatise *De Nugis Curialium*, is very consistent with the fact that Walter Mapes was the author of the French Lancelot and its sequel, but it is singular that the writer of the latter should not, among the numerous legends and romances in the other work, make the slightest allusion to any incident of the romantic cycle of king Arthur.

The manuscripts containing this series of prose Romances are rather numerous; but they are mostly of the latter half of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, and no copy appears to be known which can be attributed to the age in which their authors lived. From this circumstance, and the fact that most of those now existing were written in France, the manuscripts cannot be considered as representing accurately the language in which they were originally written. Their style is not unlike that of some of the longer stories in the treatise *De Nugis Curialium*. The following incident from the earlier part of the *Quête du Saint Graal*, taken from

* Et meismement je croi bien touchier sor les livres que maistres Gautiers Maup fist, qui fit lou propre livre de monsoingneur Lancelot dou Lac. Paulin Paris, Les Manuscrits François de la Bibliothèque du Roi, tom. i. p. 139.

† Cy fine le livre de messire Lancelot du Lac, lequel translata maistre Gautier Map. Paulin Paris, ib. p. 147. The notion that Walter Mapes was the author of the supposed Latin text, instead of the translation, appears to be a mere misapprehension.

the manuscript of the British Museum, indicated in the note to the preceding page, written at the beginning of the fourteenth century, may serve as a specimen of the text and language furnished by the manuscripts in general.

Ensi fu toute la cort troublée por l'amor de cels qui partir s'en devoient, et quant les tables furent ostées par les cambres et el palais, et les dames furent assamblées od les chevalers, lors commença li deuls noviax. Car chascune dame et damoisele, fust esposée ou amie, dist al chevaler qu'ele ama qu'ele iroit o lui en la queste du Saint Graal, et si i ot de tels laiens qui ben si acordassent, se ne fust un viex hom qui laiens entra, vestus de robe de religion, après souper. Et quant il fu venus devant le roi, si parla si haut que ben le porent tuit oir, et dist, "Oés, seignor chevaler, qui avés juré la queste du Saint Graal, ce vus mande Nascijens par moi, que nus ne maint en ceste queste dame ne damoisele qu'il n'en chie en pecie mortel, ne que nus n'i entre qu'il ne soit confes ou aille à confesse ; car nus en si haut service ne doit entrer, comme est li commencemens des grans secrés des privautés nostre seignor, que li haus maistres monstrera apertement al boineuré chevaler qu'il a esleu à estre son serjant entre les autres chevalers terriens, à qui il monstrera les grans merveilles del Saint Graal, et li fera veoir ce que cuers mortels ne poroit penser ne langue terriene dire."

Par ceste parole ne mena nus d'aus dame ne damoisele avoec lui, et li rois fist le preudome herbergier bel et richement, et li demanda grant partie de son estre. Mais il li en dist petit. Car il pensoit à autre chose que al roi. La roine vint à Galaad, si s'asist dalès lui, et li commenche à demander dont il est, et de quel pais, et de quel gent. Et il li en dist grant partie, comme cil qui assés en savoit. Mais de ce qu'il fu fiex Lancelot n'i ot il mot parlé. Et ne porquant as paroles que la roine i aprist, conut ele ben qu'il estoit fiex Lancelot, et qu'il avoit este engenrés en la fille au roi Pelles, si com ele avoit oi dire maintes fois.

Besides the writings above mentioned, tradition has ascribed to Walter Mapes a considerable quantity of rhyming Latin verse of a satirical character, which occurs frequently in old manuscripts, and upon which his reputation in modern times chiefly rests. The treatise *De Nugis Curialium* contains ample evidence of Mapes's opposition to some of the corruptions of the court of Rome, and of his hostility to the monkish orders in general, and more especially to the Cistercians. A long chapter of the book just quoted is filled with anecdotes of the

rapacity of the Cistercian monks both in England and abroad, and Giraldus Cambrensis has preserved several of his oral remarks against the same order.* Giraldus informs us that this hostility arose from the unjust encroachments of the Cistercian monks of Newenham in Gloucestershire on the possessions of his own church of Westbury; and he tells us that when on several occasions he was one of the judges itinerant, and as such obliged to take the oath of administering justice faithfully to every one, he was accustomed to add "excepting Jews and Cistercian monks." The same writer tells us a ludicrous anecdote of an attempt of the Cistercians to persuade him on a bed of sickness to enter their order. In a manuscript in the Ashmolean Library at Oxford is preserved a short poem by a canon of St. Frideswithe's named Bothewald, in defence of the Cistercians against the attacks of the satirical archdeacon,† in the rubric of which it is stated that Mapes wrote against the order, both in his youth and in his old age, in prose and verse, and Bothewald quotes the following apparently as a line of Mapes's poetry,—

Lancea Longini, grex albus, ordo nefandus.

It is also remarkable that Mapes speaks of himself on several occasions as enjoying the reputation of being a poet. On the other hand the poetry which has in modern times been attributed to Walter Mapes is not written in hexameters, like the line here given, and is not directed against the Cistercians. It consists of general satires against the corruptions of the court and church of Rome and the manners of the clergy, and appears most com-

* Giraldus Cambrensis, Speculum Ecclesiæ, printed in the appendix to the Introduction to The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes, p. xxxi, et seq.

† Printed ib. p. xxxv.

monly under the name of Golias or Goliardus, which then signified a person of loose life who said all he thought without the fear of any one. If any of this Goliardic poetry was written by Mapes, the secrecy of the authorship was so well kept in his lifetime, that Giraldus speaks against them and their supposed author Golias with great harshness in a chapter of the same book in which he dwells with so much warmth on his friend Mapes's praise,* and he cites, as an example, some lines of one of the poems which has been most constantly attributed to this writer, the *Confessio Goliæ.* A large portion of this poetry is certainly not the work of Mapes; indeed it can hardly be dated earlier than the reign of Henry III. It is not necessary here to do more than refer to the list in Leyser,† and to the collection printed under the title of The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes. The poem which we have the strongest reason for believing Mapes to have written is entitled *Apocalypsis Goliæ episcopi.* It occurs very frequently in manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and became remarkably popular at the period of the reformation, when it was printed by Flacius Illyricus, and reprinted in several other works. This poem is found in manuscripts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries under the name of Mapes, so that we can hardly venture to reject it. The writer is supposed to fall into a trance, during which the vices of the different orders of the Roman clergy are revealed to him. He sees four animals full of eyes, and furnished with wings, resembling respectively a lion, a calf, an eagle, and a man. These are explained to signify

* Ib. p. xxxviii.

† Polycarpi Leyseri Historia Poetarum et Poematum Medii Ævi, p. 776.

the pope and the three grades of bishops, archdeacons and deans.

Est leo pontifex summus, qui devorat;
qui libras sitiens libros impignorat;
marcam respiciens, Marcum dedecorat;
in summis navigans, in nummis anchorat.
Est ille vitulus præsul, qui prævius
in loco pascuæ præcurrit citius,
roditque ruminans quod novit melius,
et saginatus est bonis alterius.
Est aquila, quæ sic alis innititur,
archidiaconus, qui prædo dicitur;
qui videt a longe prædam quam sequitur,
et cum circumvolat ex rapto vivitur.
Est quod induitur humana facie,
decanus tacitæ plenus versutiæ,
qui fraudes operit forma justitiæ,
piumque simplici mentitur specie.
Ista sunt quatuor alas habentia,
quia circumvolant rerum negotia;
plena sunt oculis, eo quod prævia
lucra respiciunt, et subsequentia.

He goes on to expose the faults of the lower branches of the clergy in the same unsparing manner, but more in detail, pointing out their luxurious mode of living, their incontinence, avarice, and injustice; and he closes with the monks.

Quisque de monacho fit dæmoniacus,
et cuique monacho congarrit monachus,
ut pica picæ, ut psittaco psittacus,
cui dat ingenium magister stomachus.
Hiis mola dentium tumorem faucium,
lagena gutturis ventris diluvium,
oris aculeus dat flammas litium,
et fratrum malleus calorem noxium.
Cum inter fabulas et Bacchi pocula
modum et regulam suspendit crapula,
dicunt quod dicitur favor a fabula,
modus a modio, a gula regula.
Et sic fit ordinis crebra transgressio,
fraudes, perjuria, livor, detractio,
mentis esuries, rerum distractio,
ventris ingluvies, renum concussio.

This is the general style of the poetry attributed to Mapes, though the metres differ. The bibliographers of the sixteenth century fell into the error of ascribing to him all the rhyming Latin poems of this kind they found, and they are our only authority for placing his name to any one of these poems except the one just described. One of the most remarkable is entitled *Confessio Goliæ;* the hero is introduced making a mock confession of his three vices, the love of women, the love of dice, and the love of wine. Of the third he says,—

Tertio capitulo memoro tabernam:
 illam nullo tempore sprevi, neque spernam,
 donec sanctos angelos venientes cernam,
 cantantes pro mortuo requiem æternam.
Meum est propositum in taberna mori:
 vinum sit appositum morientis ori,
 ut dicant cum venerint angelorum chori,
 "Deus sit propitius huic potatori."

Some one at a very late period (perhaps after the invention of printing) took the second of these quartains with some lines which follow, and arranged them as a drinking song; and this led succeeding writers into great mistakes as to the history and character of Walter Mapes, who has been termed "the jovial archdeacon" and "the Anacreon of his age," with various other inappropriate titles. There is no known circumstance connected with him which could authorise us to look upon him in any other light than as a learned and elegant scholar, a man of good sense, high character, and strict morality. The confessions in the poem alluded to refer merely to the pretended author Golias, whose name stands at the head. He speaks of himself only as a poet whose chief haunts are the tavern—

Loca vitant publica quidam poetarum,
 et secretas eligunt sedes latebrarum;

sudant, instant, vigilant, nec laborant parum,
et vix tandem reddere possunt opus clarum.
Jejunant et abstinent poetarum chori,
lites vitant publicas et tumultus fori;
et ut carmen faciant quod non possit mori,
moriuntur studio, subditi labori.
Unicuique proprium dat natura munus:
ego nunquam potui scribere jejunus;
me jejunum vincere posset puer unus;
sitim et jejunium odi tanquam funus.
Unicuique proprium dat natura donum:
ego versus faciens bibo vinum bonum,
et quod habent melius dolia cauponum;
tale vinum generat copia sermonum.

Editions.

The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes, collected and edited by Thomas Wright. London, printed for the Camden Society, 1841. 4to.

Gualteri Mapes de Nugis Curialium Distinctiones quinque. Edited from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, by Thomas Wright. London, printed for the Camden Society. 4to. *(In the press.)*

ROBERT DE BORRON AND LUCES DE GAST.

Besides Walter Mapes, two other writers of the reign of Henry the Second, employed themselves in compiling the French prose romances of the Round Table. Their works are preserved, but concerning their personal history we are almost entirely in the dark. To one of these writers, named Robert de Borron, we owe the *Roman du Saint Graal* and the *Roman de Merlin*, which form the first portion of the series completed by Walter Mapes. All we know of him is that he was the kinsman of Helie de Borron, who at a somewhat later period completed the prose

romance of Tristan, and who tells us that he was "begotten of the blood of the gentle paladins of Barres, who have always been commanders and lords of Outres in Romenie, which is now called France."* Robert published his romances anonymously; and among the reasons which he gives at the commencement of the St. Graal for concealing his name, one is, the fear that some might think worse of the book on account of the humble merits of the compiler. He gives as another reason, his fear that people might not believe the history, if they knew that it had been revealed to an humble individual: so that this writer at least does not pretend to have translated from any other source.

Luces de Gast was the author of the first part of the Romance of Tristan, which forms a portion of the same series. The name is differently spelt, Gast, Gant, and Gad, in different manuscripts, and in the brief account he gives of himself he says that this castle, of which he was lord, was situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Salisbury, and that he was an Englishman by birth.† He pretends to have translated his romance from the Latin; but this was probably a mere common-place assertion of the early romance writers, to give an air of greater authority to their narratives. The style and language of the writings of Luce de Gast and Robert de Borron resemble those of the romances of Walter Mapes, and it is not necessary to give a further specimen. The manuscripts of the *Roman de Tristan* are rare in England, but there is a considerable number in the Royal Library at Paris.

* Paulin Paris, Les Manuscrits François, vol. i. p. 139.

† Ib. p. 128, 133, 136, 139. M. de la Rue, who has put a forced and false construction on the words, supposes him to have been lord of Gast in Normandy.

MINOR WRITERS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY II.

The reign of Henry II. produced a considerable number of writers whose works are of minor importance, either from their brevity or from their literary character. In this class we may place one or two writers of Latin verse, such as Serlo, who from a canon of York became a monk of Fountains abbey, which he afterwards changed for that of Kirkstall, in Yorkshire. Hugh of Kirkstall, writing about the year 1220, speaks of him (if it be the same person) as being still alive, and about a hundred years old. He wrote a Latin song or chaunt upon the celebrated battle of the standard in the reign of Stephen, which is printed in the Decem Scriptores, edited by Twysden, and commences with the following lines,

> David ille manu fortis, sceptrum tenens Scoticum,
> Armatorum multa manu regnum intrat Anglicum,
> Sed cum Tysan contra suum transit infortunium,
> Quem invadit vix evasit Stephani Standardium.

He is said to have written a similar chant on the death of Sumerled, king of Man, in 1164, beginning with the words, *David rege mortis lege clauso;* and three metrical treatises, *De dictionibus univocis, De dictionibus dissilabis,* and *De dictionibus æquivocis,* are likewise attributed to him. Another poet of the same name, who is said to have flourished about the year 1160, was a monk of Dover, and is said to have written on similar subjects, *De differentiis nominum et verborum* and *De proverbiis,* as well as a commentary on the Pentateuch. To one of these Serlos, are attributed some Latin verses on the transitory

character of worldly things, which are thus introduced in a manuscript in the British Museum (MS. Cotton. Julius A. xi. fol. 112, r°.)

Hæc quæ de mundi contemptu versificator
Illustris Serlo sunt carmina digna notari.
Mundus abit, res nota quidem, res usque notanda,
  Nota tibi mundi sit nota, mundus abit.
Mundus abit, non mundus, id est, hæc machina mundi
  Dico, sed mundi gloria, mundus abit.
Mundus abit, tria sunt, fuit, est, erit, hæc tria mundum
  Mota movent, clamant hæc tria mundus abit, &c.

A writer named Serlo, of the same age, perhaps one of those just named, was the author of a Latin poem against the corruptions of the monks, preserved in manuscripts of the Bodleian Library. There were, however, several writers of this name, foreign and English, whose history is very confused.*

A Latin poet named DANIEL CHURCH is only known by the account of him which Bale found in a chronicle he discovered at London; he was there described as a skilful writer in prose and verse, and is said to have held an office in the household of Henry II. Bale attributes to him a Latin poem entitled *Urbanus*, a treatise on politeness of behaviour. A poem under this title, and answering to Bale's description, is preserved anonymously in several manuscripts.†

THOMAS, a native of Beverley in Yorkshire, and a

* See Tanner, and an article at the beginning of the fourteenth volume of the Hist. Lit. de France. It may be observed, that Mr. Stevenson, in his notes to the Chronicle of Lanercost, has printed some of the poems of Godfrey of Winchester under the name of Serlo.

† One in Trin. Coll. Dublin; another in Worcester Cathedral; and others elsewhere. See also our article on Henry I.

monk of the abbey of Fresmont, in the diocese of Beauvais, in Picardy, wrote in verse and prose a life of St. Margaret of Jerusalem, a large portion of which was printed by Manriquez in his Annales Cistercienses, under the year 1187, and some following years. Thomas is said to have flourished about the year 1170.*

A poet named GUALO, frequently with the appellations *Britannus* and *Brito*, occurs as the writer of a few satirical rhymes against the corruptions of the monks, which occur rather frequently in manuscripts, and were printed anonymously by Flacius Illyricus.† This poem begins with the lines,

> Sacrilegis monachis emptoribus ecclesiarum,
> Composui satiram, carmen per sæcula clarum;
> Quam quia vir magnus corroborat Hugo Diensis,
> Noster amicus eam legat Otto Suessionensis.

Bale says that he flourished in 1170, but the date appears to be somewhat doubtful.

Another Latin poet who appears to have lived during the reign of Stephen, and the earlier part of that of Henry II., was HUGO SOTÆVAGINA, or SOTAVAGINA, who is styled in a manuscript in the Cottonian Library, in which some fragments of his poetry are contained, chanter and archdeacon of the church of St. Peter at York.‡ Richard of Hexham quotes two lines of a poem of "Hugo Sotevagina archdeacon of York," on the battle of the standard.§ The poem preserved in the Cottonian manuscript is a

* See Leyser, Hist. Poet. et Poem. Med. Æv. p. 435.

† Flacius Illyricus, p. 489, under the title, *In monachos carmen satyricum*. Tanner states that Gualo is mentioned in the Polycraticus of John of Salisbury.

‡ Versus Hugonis Sotavaginæ cantoris et archidiaconi eccl. sancti Petri Eboraci. MS. Cotton. Vitel. A. XII. fol. 130, r°.

§ Ric. Hagust. in the Decem Scriptores, col. 321.

declamation, in Latin elegiacs which are not inelegant for the time, on the degeneracy of his age, and commences thus,—

> Philosophus quidam quæsitus quid sit amicus,
> Pauca prius meditans, sic ait, alter ego.
> Alterutri sed nemo potest modo dicere vere,
> Sum velut alter tu, tu velut alter ego.

This is followed in the manuscript by a rhyming poem against the corruptions of the Cluniac monks; and then we have another short poem, much in the same style as the other, and probably by the same author, as he states his name to be Hugo. These lines are addressed to a priest named William, whom Hugo blames for his levity of character,—

> Hugo sacerdoti Willelmo, quæ tria voce
> Re minime distant, ordine digna suo.
> Utile nil justo, nil justum distat honesto,
> Sed tria sunt unum, qui bene perspiciet.

A chaplain of Henry II., named WALTER, who is sometimes known by the title of *Gualterus Anglicus*, was distinguished as a grammarian. Having been sent by Henry as an instructor to his son-in-law William king of Sicily, the latter made him archbishop of Palermo, in which town he died in 1177. Pits attributes to him a book on the Rudiments of the Latin tongue.*

Among the writers on science (or, at least, on numbers) during this reign, may be mentioned ODO, abbot of Muremund, said to have flourished about the year 1180, whose treatise *De analecticis Ternarii*, or on the mysteries of the number three, is preserved in a manu-

* See Tanner.

script in the Cottonian Library,* and appears by internal evidence to have been written soon after the death of Bernard of Clairvaux. Bale attributes some other works to him, but, as it would appear, incorrectly. WILLIAM THE CLERK (*Gulielmus Clericus*), was an astronomer of some eminence, and is said by Hoveden to have been astrologer to John constable of Chester. He wrote a prognostic founded on the conjunction of the planets in the year 1185, but this appears to be his only claim to the title of an author.†

The minor theological writers of this reign are numerous, but many of them possess very little merit or importance. Many of the names admitted into the lists of medieval writers, can claim that honour only for some brief and unadorned narrative of events in which they were concerned, or of the pretended miracles of the saint who founded or presided over the monastic house to which they belonged.

A monk of Fountains named RICHARD, who was a native of York, lived at the beginning of Henry's reign, and was the author of a book of Homilies. He left England to settle at Clairvaux, of which house he was afterwards chosen abbot, and where he formed an intimacy with St. Bernard. He was recalled to England by Henry archbishop of York, who consecrated him second abbot of Fountains. He is frequently called Richard the Sacristan, as having held that office either at Clairvaux or at Fountains. Hugh of Kirkstall, in his history of Fountains abbey, calls him Richard Fastolf, and describes him as præcentor in the abbey of Clairvaux. His Homilies appear to be no longer extant. A treatise *De Harmonia*,

* MS. Cotton. Vespas. B. xxvi. † Rog. Hoveden. Annal. p. 625.

or *De Musica,* has been attributed to this writer, but perhaps he is confounded with another person bearing a similar name.*

A canon of St. Osyth's in Essex, contemporary with Richard, wrote a life of St. Osyth. He is named ALBERICUS DE VERE, and is said to have belonged to the noble family of that name; Dugdale makes him the second son of the second Alberic de Vere earl of Oxford, who died early in the reign of Stephen. A life of St. Osyth, printed in the collection of Surius,† is supposed to be the work of Alberic; but its brevity renders it more probable that it is a mere abridgment of it. Bale and Pits also attribute to him a history of his monastery (which Tanner supposes to have been only a part of the life of St. Osyth,) and a treatise on the Eucharist.

Another biographer of this period was WILLIAM DE WYCUMB, prior of Lanthony, and chaplain of Robert de Betun bishop of Hereford. After that prelate's death, which occurred in 1149, William wrote a sketch of his life, which is printed in the second volume of the Anglia Sacra. It is found with two different prefaces, one addressed to Henry of Blois bishop of Winchester, the other to Reginald prior of Wenlock. We learn from an early history of Lanthony, that prior William wrote a narrative of the acts of violence and injustice perpetrated against his monastery by Milo constable of Gloucester, which gave great offence to Milo's son Roger, who eventually joined with the monks of Lanthony, to whom his harshness and severity had made him obnoxious, in ejecting him from his office. William is said to have passed

* Tanner, in v. *Richardum Anglicum.*

† Surius, De prob. vit. Sanct. tom. iv. Oct. 7.

the remainder of his life in retirement at Frome. He flourished about the year 1160.

Thomas of Monmouth, who appears to have been a monk of Norwich, and who flourished about the same time, wrote a life of St. William, a child said to have been crucified by the Jews of Norwich, as well as a narrative of miracles pretended to have been performed at his tomb. This book appears to be lost: it was dedicated to William bishop of Norwich (1151—1175).

Nicholas, a monk of Durham, wrote in the same age a life of St. Godric the hermit, with whom he was personally acquainted. There is a life and miracles of St. Godric in MS. Harl. No. 322, which may be the work of the monk Nicholas.

Osbert of Clare, who belongs more properly to the reign of Stephen, is known as a writer of Epistles, which are preserved in a manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (MS. Gale, O. 10, 16). He tells us himself that he was a native of the town of Clare * (Stoke Clare in Suffolk); and we learn from his letters that he was a monk, and subsequently prior of Westminster. He was sent to Rome on the business of his house more than once: on one occasion he carried thither the complaints of his convent, which had been violently deprived of some of its possessions; and on another he went on an unsuccessful mission from the king to obtain leave to establish a great festival in honour of Edward the Confessor, whose body had been exhumed in Westminster

* Frater Osbertus municipio quod Clara dicitur oriundus. Ep. 9.—Frater Osbertus de Clara. Ep. 18.—Municipii Clarensis indigena. Ep. 34.

Abbey.* It appears that he wrote in commemoration of this occurrence a life of king Edward, not now known to be extant. Subsequently to this he fell into some disgrace in his monastery, and into disfavour with king Stephen, and suffered a temporary banishment from his native country.† His offence is not very clearly intimated; but we learn from other letters that he was involved in debt, and it seems probable that he was persecuted by Jews who had lent him money.‡ Different circumstances lead us to conjecture that he died early in the reign of Henry II. His letters, forty in number, are not of much interest. Two of them are treatises in praise of virginity, addressed to Adelis, abbess of Barking, and on the conception of the Virgin, addressed to Warine, prior of Worcester. Among them we find also a curious poem in rhyming Latin on the accession of Henry II. to the throne, beginning—

Dux illustris Normannorum.

Osbert was also the author of a life of St. Ethelbert the martyr, of which there is a manuscript in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; a life of St. Edburgha, from which Leland has given extracts in his Collectanea;§ and a collection of miracles of St. Edmund the martyr, preserved in the Bodleian Library. A life of Dunstan, printed by Surius, has been erroneously ascribed to this writer.

Adalbert, monk of Spalding, who also flourished about the year 1160, obtained some celebrity as a laborious compiler from the works of St. Gregory. This compilation, to which he gave the title of *Speculum de statu*

* Epp. 1 and 6.

† Peccatis suis exigentibus in Anglorum regno proscriptus. Ep. 16. In terra aliena peregrinus et hospes. Ep. 18.

‡ Epp. 24, 27, etc.

§ Leland. Collectan. vol. x. p. 337.

hominis, is printed in the Thesaurus Anecdotorum of Martene and Durand. Bale attributes to the same writer a book of Homilies.

Radulf, a monk of Westminster abbey, in which he held the office of almoner, was distinguished in the earlier part of the reign of Henry II. as a popular preacher. He enjoyed the friendship of Laurence abbot of Westminster, at whose request he collected his sermons into a volume, which was completed under his successor abbot Walter, to whom he dedicated them. The old bibliographers attribute also to Radulf a series of homilies on the New Testament, and a treatise entitled *De peccatore.*

Walter Daniel, monk of Rievaux, is known to us through Leland, who saw a number of his theological writings in the library of Rievaux abbey a little before its suppression. He gives as their titles, *Centum Sententiæ; Centum Homiliæ*, beginning with the words *Adventus Domini;* a volume of Epistles, beginning with the words *Mandasti mihi*; *De virginitate Mariæ*, beginning *Crebris me Gualterum;* an exposition upon the text *Missus est angelus Gabriel; De honesta virginis formula*, beginning *In primis hujus;* two books *De onere jumentorum austri*, beginning with the word *Animadvertens; De vera amicitia*, in five books; *De conceptione beatæ Mariæ, contra Nicolaum monachum.** Leland speaks of him as the friend of Ailred, and states that he flourished in 1170, and that he died and was buried at Rievaux.

Samson, a monk of Canterbury, wrote at this time a

* These works are not found in the catalogue of the Rievaux library printed in the Reliquiæ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 180; but the *Psalterium magistri Walteri glosatum* there mentioned (p. 186) may refer to this writer.

collection of Homilies, of which Leland saw a copy at Gloucester.

ROBERT OF GLASTONBURY, of which place he was a monk, and finally abbot, after having been some time prior of Winchester, wrote a narrative of the acts of William and Henry bishops of Winchester, which is printed in Wharton's Anglia Sacra. He was chosen abbot of Glastonbury in 1171.

About this time also lived HENRY OF SALTREY, the author of a fabulous history of the visit of a knight named Owen to St. Patrick's Purgatory, a tract which soon obtained extensive popularity, and of which a great number of manuscript copies are still extant. Henry was a monk of the Benedictine abbey of Saltrey in Huntingdonshire, and received his story from Gilbert abbot of Louth, who is said by some to have also published a written account of the extraordinary visions of his hero Owen.*

LAURENCE abbot of Westminster claims a place among our list of minor theological writers. Previous to his election to govern the abbey of Westminster, Laurence had been successively archdeacon of Durham and a Benedictine monk in the abbey of St. Alban's. His sermons for the different times and festivals of the year are said to be still preserved in Balliol college, Oxford. He has been frequently confounded with Laurence of Durham. Laurence abbot of Westminster died in 1176, and was buried in the northern part of the cloisters.†

* So Wendover, sub an. 1153, seems to say, but it is perhaps an error, founded on a misunderstanding of Henry of Saltrey's own words.

† See Tanner, v. *Laurentius Westm.*

ADAM, a Scot, who is said to have died about the year 1180, wrote a numerous collection of sermons, a commentary on the rule of St. Augustine, a treatise on the triple tabernacle of Moses, and a book *De triplici genere contemplationis,* which were printed at Antwerp in 1659. Part of them had been previously printed at Paris in 1518.*

ROGER OF FORDE, in Devonshire, was also a minor writer of this period. He wrote a narrative of the martyrdom of the eleven thousand virgins, which was preserved in MS. Cotton. Otho A. XII. now no longer in existence. His account of the Revelations of St. Elizabeth of Flanders, dedicated to Baldwin abbot of Forde (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury), is extant in the library of St. John's college, Oxford. Roger also composed a Latin poem in praise of the Virgin Mary, which appears to be lost.

WALTER, monk of St. Alban's, of which abbey he is said to have been librarian and precentor, flourished about the year 1180. A chronicle of English affairs, and a book *De literis ecclesiæ,* are ascribed to him, but they are not known to be now extant.

PHILIP, prior of St. Frideswithe's at Oxford, who flourished about 1180, or soon after, wrote a narrative of the miracles of the patron saint of his house subsequent to the translation of her remains, of which there is a copy among the Digby manuscripts in the Bodleian Library.

The last of the minor writers of this reign to whom we shall give a place is ADAM, elected abbot of Evesham, in 1161.

* Tanner.

He was one of the persons who brought the pallium from Rome to Thomas Becket in 1162.* He died in Nov. 1191. Leland found in the library of Evesham abbey a collection of Epistles by this writer, as well as two treatises with the respective titles *Exhortatio ad sacras virgines Godestovensis cœnobii.* and *De miraculo eucharistiæ ad Rainaldum.*

* Ralph de Dicet. col. 534.

Section V.—Reigns of Richard I. and John.

KING RICHARD CŒUR DE LION.

We have seen, under Stephen and Henry II., the heavier Latin literature of the Anglo-Norman theological writers giving way gradually to a class of lighter productions, a change which became more decisive when the throne was occupied by the heroic gallantry of Richard, who himself held a distinguished place among the vernacular poets of that age. Richard had passed much of his life in the softer clime of the trobadors, with whom his name is associated as a writer; but, although he is said to have excelled in writing love-songs, his favourite compositions appear to have belonged to a class more consonant with his own restless disposition. These were termed *sirventes,* and were satirical or declamatory personal attacks in verse arising out of momentary feuds or long cherished enmities. A few fragments of this monarch's poetry are still preserved in scattered manuscripts, and some of them have been printed. The earliest mention of Richard's talents in this style of composition is found in the history of his expedition to Syria, written by Geoffrey Vinsauf, who tells us that, when the crusaders had relinquished the design of marching to Jerusalem, great dissensions arose between the French and the English, and Henry duke of Burgundy wrote an abusive song against King Richard, which was industriously spread among the soldiers and sung publicly; in revenge of which the king composed a similar poem to abuse the other party.*

* The words of Vinsauf are curious. Et super hæc omnia Henricus dux Burgundiæ arrogantiæ nequam spiritus instinctu, vel zelo forte ductus livoris

On his return from the Holy Land, Richard, as is well known, fell into the power of his enemy the archduke of Austria, who retained him a considerable period in close confinement. In his prison he wrote a *sirvente* against his own barons, whom he charged with negligence or lukewarmness in their efforts to deliver him, beginning with the line,—

Ja nuls hom pres non dira sa razon.

This piece is found in several manuscripts, differing considerably in them all, and sometimes written in the dialect of the trobadors, at others in that of the trouvères.* According to an old story (the authenticity of which there appears to be reason for doubting), it was the king's minstrel, named Blondel, who discovered the place of Richard's imprisonment, the former making himself known to the captive by singing a song of his own composition, which was only known to Blondel and himself.†

The last incident we know of the literary history of king Richard relates to his war with the king of France. The dauphin of Auvergne and his cousin the count Guy had, at Richard's instigation, revolted against Philippe Auguste; but the English king, having made a separate

inconvenientis, plurimum cantionis instituit verba composita publice cantitari, verba quidem pudenda nec proferendum in publicum, si qua superesset ea componentibus verecundia..... Postquam hæc invidiosa adinventio passim per exercitum frequentaretur, rex nimium super eo commotus, consimili tantum arbitratus est infligendam vindictam talione. Cantavit igitur et ipse nonnulla de ipsis, sed non plurimum laboravit in adinventionem, quia superabundans suppetebat materia, quid enim siqua responderet verba ad tot fictitia et objecta opprobria. Galf. Vinos. Iter Hierosol. lib. vi. c. 8, ap. Gale. It may be observed that the abbé de la Rue's reference, "De nova poetria, p. 409," is quite erroneous.

* The best text of this Sirvente in Provençal will be found in Raynouard, Choix, tom. iv. p. 430. The northern version is printed in M. Le Roux de Lincy's Recueil de Chants Historiques, tom. i. p. 56.

† The best authority for this story is the Chronique de Rains, written in the thirteenth century, edited by M. Louis Paris, p. 53.

truce, they were left at Philippe's mercy, and, in a moment of irritation at Richard's neglect, they entered into alliance with his enemy. When, at the end of the truce, the dauphin and count Guy refused to join the standard of king Richard, he sent them a bitter sirvente, accusing them of faithlessness, avarice, and cowardice. The following are the two first stanzas of this poem, which is preserved in two manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris.*

Dalfin, jeus voill deresnier,
Vos e le comte Guion,
Que an en ceste seison
Vos feistes bon guerrier.
E vos jurastes ou moi;
E m'en portastes tiel foi
Com n' Aengris à Rainart:
Et semblés dou poil liart.

Vos me laistes aidier
Por treive de guierdon;
E car saviés qu'à Chinon
Non a argent ni denier.
Et vos voletz riche roi,
Bon d'armes, qui vos port foi.
Et je suis chiche, coart,
Si vos viretz de l'autre part.

The dauphin wrote a sirvente in reply, in which he denied the charges made against him and his cousin, and accused Richard of being the author of all the troubles and discord in which they were engaged. The sirvente just quoted appears to have been written at the beginning of October 1198; king Richard died only a few months after, on the 6th of April, 1199. His death was a subject of especial grief to the poets of the day, and several of their metrical lamentations on the occasion are extant.†

* The whole is printed in M. Le Roux de Lincy, Chants Historiques, vol. i. p. 65. See also Raynouard, Choix, tom. v. p. 430.

† A ballad on Richard's death, in Provençal and in Northern French, is printed in Le Roux de Lincy, loc. cit. p. 71. The two first stanzas of another copy are printed by Keller (Romvart, p. 425) from a MS. in the Vatican. See also Geoffrey Vinsalf, Nov. Poetr. ap. Leyser, p. 882.

The following song, which has been published as that which served as the means of making known the place of king Richard's imprisonment, appears to be of somewhat doubtful authenticity.

Domna, vostra beutas,
E las bellas faissos,
Els bels oils amoros,
Els gens cor ben taillatz,
Don sien empresenats
De vostra amor que mi lia
Si bel trop affansia.
Ja de vos non portrai,
Que major honorai,
Sol en votre deman
Que fantra des beisan
Tot can de vos volzia.

The following more authentic fragment of one of Richard's love-songs was communicated by M. Raynouard to the Annuaire Historique for the year 1837, from a MS. discovered at Aix.

Ja de sos pes no m partira,
S'il plagues qu'ieu a lui servis,
Et sivals d'aitant m'enrequis
Que dieises que ma dona era;
Qu'en ren als non ay mon voler,
Jor ni nueh, ne matin ni ser,
Ni als mon cor non dezira.

Genser dona el mont no us mira,
Guai' e blanca coma ermis,
Plus fresca que roza ni lis;
Ren als non m'en desespera.
Dieus! si poray l'ora vezer
Qu'ieu josta leis puesca jazer;
Ben ai dreg, mas trop mi tira.

A few other scraps of the compositions of this celebrated monarch are scattered over different manuscript collections. It is difficult to decide whether as a poet he ought to be classed exclusively with the trobadors or with the trouvères.

GUERNES DU PONT DE ST. MAXENCE.

The writings of the Anglo-Norman trouvères become much more numerous in this reign than in the preceding, and furnish us with several names which, as their exact dates are in general uncertain, we may here place together. The first of these, named Guernes, who belongs more properly to the reign of Henry II., was a native of the town of Pont de St. Maxence in Picardy.* He lived afterwards as a monk at Canterbury, and there composed a life of Thomas Becket in Anglo-Norman verse. He informs us that he commenced this work the year after the primate was slain, A.D. 1172, and that he completed it in the fifth year after that event, or 1175, it having thus occupied him three years. We learn nothing further of his personal history, and he is not known as the author of any other work. The best manuscript of the poem of Guernes du Pont de St. Maxence is preserved in the British Museum, MS. Harl. No. 270, which is nearly if not quite contemporary with the author. A considerable fragment of another copy, written apparently about the beginning of the fourteenth century, is found in the same repository. MS. Cotton. Domit. A. XI. Another MS., imperfect at the beginning, is in the library of Wolfenbüttel, from which it was printed by Immanuel Bekker. We believe there is a

* The abbé de la Rue has, as usual, given a very inaccurate account of this poet, whom he calls Gervaise, following the later copy in MS. Cotton. Domit. A. XI. He seems to have taken very hasty notes of the MS., and to have filled up the outline from his imagination. In the latter part of his poem (p. 160, ed. Bekker), Guernes speaks of himself as—

Guernes li clers, de Punt de Saint Mesence nez.

fourth copy in the Royal Library at Paris. The poet's account of himself is contained chiefly in the concluding lines of the poem, which we quote as a specimen of the language of the Harleian Manuscript.

> Guernes li clerc de Punt fine çi sun sermon
> Del martyr seint Thomas e de sa passiun,
> E meinte feiz le lis à la tumbe al baron.
> Mès n'i mis un sul mot se la verité nun.
> De noz meffaiz nus face li pius Dés veir pardon.
> Ainc mès si bon Romanz ne fu fet ne trovez,
> A Cantorbire fu e faiz e amendez;
> N'i ai mis un sul mot ki ne seit veritez.
> Li vers est d'une rime en cinc clauses cuplez,
> E bons est mis languages e en France fui nez.
> L'an secund que li saint fu en l'iglise occis
> Cumencai cest Romanz, e mult m'en entremis;
> Des privez saint Thomas la verité apris.
> Meintefeiz en ostai çeo que ainz i escris,
> Pur oster la mençunge, al quint an fin i mis.
> Ceo sacent tut cil ki ceste vie orrunt,
> Que purc verité par tut oir purrunt.
> E ceo sacent tut cil ki del saint traitié unt,
> U Romanz u Latin, e cest chemin ne vont,
> U el dient que jeo, k'encontre verité sunt.

This poem is especially valuable in a philological point of view, because we know the exact date at which it was written. It is historically important as the earliest of the lives of Becket. Guernes tells us in the preceding extract that he had collected his materials from Becket's friends and acquaintance, that he had repeatedly and carefully corrected it, and that he had read it many times at the martyr's tomb. His narrative is very clear and vigorous, and furnishes valuable information not found in the same detail in the other biographers; but, in common with them all, he is prejudiced in favour of his hero. In describing the messengers sent by king Henry to the king of France and the pope, he gives the following account of Gilbert Foliot, which we quote from Bekker's text:

En cel message vint Gilebert Foliot.
Des lettres sout asez, e servi Astarot:
Mais puis avint tel jur que il s'en tint pur sot,
Que encontre le saint humme eut parlé un sul mot.
De Sodome est eissuz, e suit les traces Lot.

A little further on Guernes gives us a very amusing description of the appearance of these messengers before the pope:—

L'arcevesque i vint qui d'Evrewic ert maistre,
Wit li rus, e l'evesque i vint de Wirecestre,
E li quens d'Arundel, e Richarz d'Ivecestre,
Johanz d'Oxeneford, l'evesque d'Execestre,
Hue de Gundevile, Hylaires de Cicestre.
Cil de Saint Waleri, Renals, i est venuz;
Henris li fiz Gerold, qui ert des reaus druz;
Gilebert Foliot, qui ne s'i fist pas muz;
E des autres plusurs e jovenes e chanuz.
Tels i parla purquant qui fu pur fol tenuz.
Devant la pape esturent li messagier real:
Alquant diseient bien, pluisur diseient mal;
Li alquant en Latin, tel ben tel anomal,
Tel qui fist personel del verbe impersonal,
Singuler e plurel aveit tut pur igal.
Tels i ont des prelaz parla si egrement,
Que la pape li dist, "Fratre, tempreement:
Car mesdire de lui ne sufferai neent."
Lur paroles n'ai pas tutes çi en present,
Mais de ço que unt requis dirrai mun escient.

The history is continued after Becket's death, to give a particular account of the pilgrimage of Henry II. to Becket's shrine in 1174.

Edition.

Leben des h. Thomas von Canterbury, Altfranzösisch, herausgegeben von Immanuel Bekker. Berlin, 1838, 8vo.

BOZUN, OR BOSON.

A trouvère of this name, of whose history we are entirely ignorant, was the author of nine short metrical lives of female saints, preserved in a MS. of the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Domit. A. XI. and perhaps of a short piece written in the same style, entitled *Le Evangel translaté de Latin en Franceys*, which immediately precedes them in the same volume. The author's name is mentioned at the conclusions of the lives of St. Mary Magdalen (fol. 95, r°)—

> Meis jeo pri Marie la dulce,
> Ke sa bonté point ne grouce
> De ayder *Bozun* en son mester,
> Ki sa vie voult translater,
> Ke gent la pussent plus amer,
> E del lire merit aver.

and of St Agnes,—

> Jeo pri Angneis, de Dieu cherie,
> K'ele nus seit en aye,
> E k'ele prie pur *Bozun*,
> Ki ad descrit sa passiun.

The style of these poems appears to be that of the end of the twelfth century, though the manuscript was written at a later date. The abbé de la Rue supposes this writer to be the same Boson who, according to Tanner, was an Englishman, the nephew and secretary of pope Adrian IV., made cardinal in 1153, and who died in 1181. But the name of Boson was too common at this period to allow much force to this supposition. The following account of part of the conversation between St. Margaret and the demon will serve as a specimen of Bozun's style:*—

* MS. Cotton. fol. 96, r°.

Et la pucele dit à li,
"Pur quei estes si entour
A cristiens de fere dolour ?"
"De nature corumpu
Vers cristiens jeo su esmu.
Peyse à nous k'il serrunt dimes
En la joye ke nus perdimes ;
Pur çeo ne avums autre feste,
Fors à cristiens fere moleste.
Li roy vaylant e li os,
Salomon, aveit enclos
Sanz numbre de nostre companye
En un vessel tutte sa vye ;
Après sa mort les genz quiderent
Trover tresor, e le debriserent,
Nos compaynons eschaperent,
E meynt homme pus greverent."
E Mergarete li ad demandé,
"Ke est vostre noun, vus maufé ?"
"Beltisco," dit-il, "su nomée,
Ki meynte alme ay encombré ;
Ki grever ne puse en veylant,
Jeo les greve en dormant,
E noméement cels ke ne unt
De la croice le singne en frunt."
La pucele dunc le comanda
En desert, e conjura,
Ke de cele oure en avant
Homme ne grevat, femme, ne enfant.

HERMAN.

Herman is another Anglo-Norman religious poet who appears to belong more properly to the reign of Henry II. His works are found scattered in manuscripts partly in England and partly in France, and for the latter we must depend upon the description given by the Abbé de la Rue. The first is a Life of Tobit, written, as he tells us himself, at the request of William prior of Kenilworth,—

Car jeo vus voil tel choze dire,
Qui mult est de bone matire:
Le prior Guillame me prie,
De l'iglise Sainte Marie
De Keneilleworth en Ardenne,
Qui porte le plus haute penne
De charité que nulle iglise
De tut le realme à devise,
Que jeo mis en Romans la vie
De celui qúi ot nom Tobie.

It is a poem of about fourteen hundred lines, commencing with an account of the creation and of the fall of Adam. The author here introduces Truth and Justice, Mercy and Peace, in the presence of God, the two former pleading against man as guilty of disobedience, whilst the other two solicit his pardon, which they obtain through the promise of a Redeemer.

The second poem attributed to this writer by the abbé de la Rue is entitled *Les joies de Notre Dame,* a very common subject among the medieval poets. The author, in describing the birth of Christ, gives a curious account of ancient Rome, of its temples, theatres, palaces, and innumerable statues; and he thanks God that in our island, (of which he was evidently a native,) during the times of paganism, they celebrated a festival on the night between the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth days of December, as being the first of nights, which they called *Modreniest,* and which he seems to consider as prophetically shadowing forth the night of Christ's birth.

The third work described by M. de la Rue is a dissertation in verse on the three words smoke, rain, and woman, which, according to Solomon, drive a man from his house; and it appears from the poem that it was composed at the suggestion of Alexander bishop of Lincoln, who died in 1147.

Treiz moz qui me sont enchargiez,
Dont jeo me sui trop atargiez,
Vus dirai, se vus plest entendre,
Et l'essamble est bon à aprendre.
Mustré m'a l'eveque Alisandre,
Qui autant com la salamandre
Aime le feu et la chalor,
Aime curteisie et valor,
Que treiz choses el siecle sont
Qui à home mult grant mal font,
Et le chacent de sa meson,
Qu'il ne puet en nule seson
Maindre à ele ne demorer,
A force l'en covient aler.

The poem, extending to upwards of eight hundred lines, is a moralization on these words.

The fourth poem enumerated by M. de la Rue is a fabulous history of the preaching and miracles of the Magdalen at Marseilles.

These four poems are contained in a manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris, cited by M. de la Rue, as No. 2560: they were evidently written by an Englishman; but we have no means of ascertaining for what reasons they are attributed to the writer who is the subject of the present article. We are equally ignorant whether in the manuscript they contain the name of Herman or of William, for M. de la Rue calls our poet *Guillaume Herman*.

The only work by Herman with which we have met, is a poem of seven or eight thousand lines on the history of the Virgin Mary, written in a different measure and style from the foregoing poems, and filled with medieval fictions. The versification of this poem resembles, in metre and in the repetitions of the same rhyme, that of the Sermon of Guiscard de Beaulieu and of the earlier metrical romances. It commences with the creation of the world and the fall of Lucifer—

Cumenz de sapience est la cremor de Dieu,
Ki fist ciel et terre, eve et feu, en teu Ebreu,

Angeles fist et archangeles, mult les mist en beu leu;
Nus truvum en escrit en Latin et de Ebreu,
Partie trebucha aval en enfernal feu,
Quant il voldrent regner et tolir le regne à Dieu.

And at the end are the following lines,—

Ore voil à tei parler, ki ai fait la chançon:
Jeo ai à non Hermans, nen ubliez mun num,
Jeo voil, ma bele dame, que atens ma raisun,
Prestre sui ordinez, tis sers sui et tis hom,
Ore fai ton comand, finé ai la chauçon.

This poem is found in MS. Harl. No. 222. An abridgment from it occurs in MS. Cotton. Domit. A. XI. fol. 80, v°, ending with the two lines,—

Ma dame, à ton honur fet ay çeo chançeun;
Jeo ay à noun Chermans, ne ubliez mye mon noun.

The latter part of Herman's poem is also found in MS. Harl. No. 5234, where the lines quoted above stand as follows,—

Ore voil à tai parler ki ai fait le chançun;
Jo ai à num Thomas, ne ubliez pas mun num;
Vus pri, ma bele amie, entendez ma reisun,
Prestre sui ordené, ti serfs sui et ti hum,
Ore al fet tun commandement, fini ay ma chaunçun.

In the Parisian manuscript quoted by M. de la Rue, the lines appear thus,—

Jeo ai â nom Guillame, n'obliez pas mon nom,
Prestre sui ordené, tis sers et tis hom,
Ore ai fait ton comant, rimé ai ma chanson.

It is evident, therefore, that different persons copied out portions of Herman's poem, and placed their own names to them; and the Abbé de la Rue is altogether in error in supposing, from the occurrence here of the name Guillaume, that the author's real name was Guillaume Herman.

In a manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris,* we find a long French poetical narrative of some of the principal events of Scriptural history, mixed with a great quantity of apochryphal matter, written by a poet of the name of Herman: it is entitled Genesis. The writer, who was a priest, tells us that on a Christmas day he had seized a brand to beat one of his clerks, and, not perceiving that it was hot, burnt his own hand. The wound festered, and he had nearly lost all hope of recovery, when he dreamt that the Virgin appeared to him and promised an immediate cure, if he would undertake to translate into French verse the portions of Scripture which she pointed out to him. He said that he had never tried the craft of poetry, but she urged him to make the attempt and promised him her assistance. Herman soon afterwards recovered his health, and in gratitude he wrote the poem of which we are speaking. In this poem Herman tells us that he was a priest, and that he was a native of Valenciennes—

> Signor, or escotés, entendés ma raison:
> Je ne vos di pas fable, ne ne vos di cançon:
> Clers sui, povres de sens, si sui moult povres hon,
> Nés sui de Valencienes, Herman m'apiele on.
> De persone Dex cure ne prend s'est grande ou non;
> On a sovent grant aise en petite maison;
> De petite fontaine tot son saol boit-on,
> Tot ce di-je por voir, je suis moult petit hon,
> Canones sui et prestre par grant election.

If this be the same Herman who wrote the poems described above, it is probable that he quitted his native country to settle in England or Normandy, for it is to be observed that most of his poems are found in manuscripts written in our island. The writer of the article on Herman

* MS. Bibl. Reg. Paris, No. 7534.

in the Histoire Littéraire de France,* who describes this poem, thinks that its author lived in the thirteenth century, and it is not improbable that there were more than one poet of the name. In a manuscript of the Genesis, which was in the possession of M. Leroux de Lincy, the scribe has inserted in the middle of the poem a remarkably wild and incoherent poetical legend, in a different measure of verse, relating to the Virgin's parentage,† but there appears no good reason for attributing it to the same writer.

Saint Palaye, as cited in the Histoire Littéraire de France, gives a list of several other works attributed to Herman, but it does not appear on what grounds. The abbé de la Rue attributes also to Herman, without stating any reasons for this appropriation, a poem on the Sibyls, commencing with the lines,—

> Il furent dis Sibiles,
> Gentils dames nobiles,
> Ki orent en lur vie
> Esprit de prophetie,
> Et nuncioient à la gent
> De leur avenement.

And he says that it is stated in this poem that the empress Matilda, who had recommended the subject to the author, died during the time he was occupied in composing it, which would fix it to the year 1167. But unfortunately little dependence can be placed on the statements of M. de la Rue, unless they have been compared with the sources from which they are said to be derived.

* Hist. Lit. de France, tom. xviii. p. 830.

† An abstract of this legend will be found in the Hist. Lit. as just quoted, and in M. Leroux de Lincy's Livre des Légendes, p. 24.

HUGH DE RUTLAND.

According to M. de la Rue, Hugh de Rutland dwelt at Credenhill in Cornwall. He appears to have lived towards the end of the twelfth century, for, in excusing his own fictions by charging Walter Mapes with the same fault, he speaks of the latter as his contemporary, so that he must have written soon after Mapes had published the romances of the Round Table.

> Ne mettez mie tout sur mei,
> Seul ne sai pas de mentir l'art,
> Walter Map reset bien sa part.
> En mendre afaire mut suvent
> Un bien rainable hom mesprent;
> Nepurquant, à la meie entente,
> Ne quis pas ke nul de vus mente.

Hugh de Rutland places the scene of his stories in Italy, and introduces some of the celebrated names of ancient fable under a very strange medieval garb. His best known poem is the Romance of Ipomedon, preserved in the British Museum (MS. Cotton. Vespas. A. VII. fol. 37, r°), and extending to upwards of ten thousand lines.* Like the other writers of the same class, Hugh pretends that his book is translated from the Latin,—

> Moult me mervail de ces clers sages
> Ky entendent plusurs langages,
> K'il ont lessé ceste estorie,
> Ke nus ne out en memorie.
> Ne di pas q'il bien ne dit,
> Cil qi en Latin l'ad descrit;

---

* An early English metrical version of this romance is printed in Weber's Metrical Romances, vol. ii. p. 281.

Mès plus i ad leis ke lettrez,
Si li Latin n'est translatez,
Gaires n'i erent entendanz.
Por çeo voil dire en Romanz
A plus brevement que jeo saurai,
Si entendrunt clerc et lai.
Hue de Rotelande nus dit,
Ky cest estorie nous descrit,
Ky de Latin vel Romanz fere,
Ne lui deit l'em à mal retrere
S'il ne poet tuz des oelz garder,
De tut en tut le tens former.

The author's name appears again at the end of the poem:—

Ceste estoire vus ai desclose,
Hue s'en test e se repose,
Que de Rotelande dit,
E vus mustre par cest escrit,
Ke unkes pus cel tens ne fut mez,
Ne chevaler ne clerc lettrez,
Ki del tut senz faire sun bon
Amast cum fist Ipomedon.
Ipomedon à tuz amanz
Mande saluz en cest Romanz
Par cest Hue de Rotelande
De par le Deu de amur cumande,
Dès ore mès lealment amer
Senz tricherie e senz fauser, &c.

Ipomedon, according to the romance, was the son of Hermogenes, king of Apulia: he becomes enamoured of the daughter of the duke of Calabria, and after many chivalrous adventures wins her for his wife. After the publication of this romance, Hugh de Rutland composed a second, entitled the romance of Prothesilaus, which forms a continuation of the preceding. The author tells us, that he thought it shameful to remain idle, and he therefore had no sooner completed his first work than he began the new one—

Hue de Rotelande dit,
Qui traiter revolt cest escrit;
Cil qui raisun et bien entent,
Ne doit reposer longuement,

Ains jors et noix et tuz tems
Ses ovres montrer et son sens;
Kar por repos ne por paresce
Ne vendra jà hom à haltesce.

Ipomedon has two sons, Danaus and Prothesilaus, who share his estates after his death; but the latter is deprived of his portion by his brother. The marvellous adventures of Prothesilaus, before he recovers his heritage, form the subject of this second romance, of which a manuscript is preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, and which, according to M. de la Rue, extends to nearly eleven thousand lines.

THOMAS.

Another writer of Romances of this age is known only by the name of Thomas, and has been the object of considerable discussion. We are totally ignorant of his history, but he was the author of two of the most remarkable monuments of our earlier literature, the romance of Horn and that of Tristan. The most perfect copy of the romance of Horn is preserved in a manuscript in the public library of the University of Cambridge (Ff. 6. 17), which however unfortunately wants a leaf or two both at the beginning and at the end. The two other manuscripts are mere fragments, one in the Harleian Library (No. 527), which contains the conclusion, the other in the Collection of the late Mr. Douce, now in the Bodleian library at Oxford. The author's name is found in the following lines in the body of the poem,—

Seignurs, oi avez le vers del parchemin,
Cum le bers Aaluf est venuz à la fin;
Mestre Thomas ne volt qu'il seit mis à declin,
K'il ne die de Horn le vaillant orphelin.

and again at the conclusion,—

Tomas n'en dirrat plus : *tu autem* chanterat.

The writer of the French romance of King Waldef, now in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, composed in the thirteenth century, distinctly states that the Romance of Horn had been translated from an English original, which was previously suspected from several circumstances connected with it. A short romance of Horn, in English verse, certainly as old as the thirteenth century, is still preserved in three manuscripts, and was printed from one of them by Ritson. It is not impossible that this, in an older form, may have been the groundwork of Thomas's Anglo-Norman poem. The story is well known by this English version, and by a somewhat more modern one preserved in the celebrated Auchinlech MS. The Anglo-Norman romance of Horn is written in the same long lines, with a continuance of the same rhymes, which distinguish many of the early metrical romances.* The account given by Horn of his own parentage, extracted from the Cambridge MS., will serve as a specimen.

Mis peres fud uns bers, vaillant hom durement,
Aaluf ad à num, si ma geste ne ment ;
En Suddene fu nez, si la teint longement,
Reis Silauf le trova, si l' norrit bonement.
Après fu koneu, par Deu comandement,
Qu'il iert de geste real descendu veirement.
Newu fu Baderouf, de sa fille al cors gent,
Goldeburc out à num à sun baptismement.
Ne sai si unc oistes de reis tel parlement ;
Pruz e hardi furent, de bon contenement,
Des anmes ait merci li reis omnipotent.
    Quant çoe fud koneu ke Aalof fud bien né,
Qu'il fu nefs Baderouf le bon e l'alosé,
Ki iert sur Alemauns enperere clamé,

* An analysis of this romance (from the Cambridge MS.) by the writer of the present volume, will be found in the Foreign Quarterly Review, vol. xvi. pp. 133—141.

Dunc li ad reis Silaus par grant amur doné
Une fille qu'il out, le vis out coluré,
E ovoc li dona après sei sun regné,
D'icest dunt joe vus di sui joe joius e led.

Of the romance of Tristan, by Thomas, a few fragments only are preserved. One of these, contained in a manuscript belonging to Mr. Douce, and printed in M. Michel's Collection, had already furnished the name of the author, who just before refers to a still older authority, whom he names Breri—

Quant ot afolé Kaherdin
Par cest plaie e par cest mal,
Enveiad Tristran Guvernal
En Engleterre pur Ysolt.
Thomas iço granter ne volt,
E si volt par raisun mustrer
Que iço ne put pas esteer.
Tristan, vol. ii. p. 41.

Another fragment of Thomas's Tristan, which has been printed from a manuscript in a private collection but has not yet been published, contains the conclusion of the poem: Thomas there speaks of himself as the author, and dedicates his poem to all true lovers, for whose comfort and consolation he says that it was composed.

Tumas fine çl sun escrit:
A tuz amanz saluz i dit, *etc.*

The Tristan of Thomas appears to have been the groundwork of the greater part of what was written upon this hero in subsequent times. It is most probable that the author was the Thomas von Britanie, from whose French poem Godfrey of Strasburg, in the thirteenth century, professes to have translated the romance of Tristan into German verse.* An English metrical translation was made about the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the

* See for further remarks on this subject the notes to the last edition of Warton's History of English Poetry (1840), vol. i, pp. 95—112.

fourteenth century, the writer of which also refers to Thomas as his original authority, but he has evidently fallen into the error of supposing the Thomas of the French romance to have been Thomas of Ercildoune, a name which happened to be then popular in certain metrical prophecies relating chiefly to the Scottish wars.

> I was at Ertheldoun,
>   With Tomas spak y thare;
> Ther herd y rede in roune,
>   Who Tristrem gat and bare,
> Who was king with croun,
>   And who him fosterd ȝare,
> And who was bold baroun
>   As thair elders ware
>   bi ȝere.
> Tomas telles in toun
>   This aventours as thai ware.

This English romance is preserved in the Auchinlech MS. at Edinburgh, and was published (not very accurately) by Sir Walter Scott, who had formed some very wrong notions as to its history.

The romance of Tristan by Thomas, which does not appear to have been of great extent, is written in a different measure and style from the romance of Horn, as will be seen by the following extract descriptive of the city of London in the twelfth century.

> Lundres est mult riche cité,
> Meliur n'ad en cristienté,
> Plus vaillante, ne melz asise,
> Melz gauarnie de gent preisée.
> Mult aiment largesce e honur,
> Cunteinent sei par grant baldur.
> Le recovrer est de Engleterre,
> Avant d'iloc ne l'estuet querre,
> Al pé del mur li curt Tamise,
> Par là vent la marchandise
> De tutes les [terres] qui sunt,
> U marcheant cristien vunt.
> Li hume i sunt de grant engin,

M. de la Rue ascribes to this trouvère a poem on the death of the Virgin Mary, which however is nothing more than the poem on that subject by Herman, with the name of Thomas attached to it.*

Edition.

The Poetical Romances of Tristan, in French, in Anglo-Norman, and in Greek, composed in the XII. and XIII. centuries, edited by Francisque Michel. London, 1835, 2 vols. 12mo.

PHILIP DE REIMES.

The abbé de la Rue supposes this trouvère to have been of one of the English families known by the name of *de Reimes, de Raimes,* or *de Rames (de Ramis),* who had extensive possessions in Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk in the twelfth century, but we have no authentic information to enable us to identify him. He is the author of two metrical romances, the scene of one of which is laid in Scotland, that of the other in England. The first of these is entitled *la Manekine;* its subject is a story very popular in different forms during the Middle Ages. The heroine is the daughter of a king of Hungary; being condemned unjustly to be burnt, she is saved by the steward, who, placing the damsel in a boat with a sufficient supply of provisions, commits her to the mercy of the sea. She is carried by the waves to Scotland, the king of which country marries her. But she there becomes an object of hatred to her mother-in-law, and when, during the absence of the king, she is confined and letters are written to him announcing her safe delivery of a son, the queen-mother

* See before, p. 335 of the present volume.

substitutes others, by means of which the young queen is adjudged to be burnt. The steward of Scotland also saves her, and she is again committed in a boat to the waves. The king, on his return, discovers the treason of his mother and the innocence of his wife, wanders seven years in search of the latter, and at length discovers her at Rome, where her father also unexpectedly arrives, and the romance ends in a general reconciliation.

In the introduction to this romance, Philip speaks with diffidence of his own powers of versification, and uses the term *leonime*, which has very much puzzled the writers on this subject, and of which the meaning is not clear.

> Et se je ne sui *leonime*,
> Merveillier ne s'en doit mie ;
> Car molt petit sai de clergie,
> Ne onques mais rime ne fis ;
> Mais ore m'en sui entremis
> Pour çou que vraie est la matere
> Dont je voel ceste rime fere,
> N'il n'est mie drois c'on se taise
> De ramembrer cose qui plaise.

It would appear by this that the Roman de la Manekine was our author's first metrical composition. He shows himself however in this poem superior to many of the trouvères who were his contemporaries, and there are some touches of good poetry in his descriptions. He thus describes the month of May :—

> Ce fu en la douce saison,
> Que li roussignol ont raison
> De chanter pour le tans joli,
> Que li pré sont vert et flouri,
> Et li vergié cargié de fruit ;
> Que la bele rose est en bruit,
> Dont les dames font les capiaus,
> Dont li amant font leur aviaus ;
> Que l'erbe vert est revenue,
> Qui par la froidure est perdue :
> Cascuns oisiaus en son latin
> Cante doucement au matin

Pour la saison qui est novele.
Toute riens adont se revele,
Que la joie maintenir doivent.
Li canel les iauwes reçoivent,
Qui en yver erent esparses.
Où keurent karoler ces garces,
Beatris, Marot, Marguecon ?
Avoec eles ont Robeçon,
Et Colinet et Jehanet ;
Puis s'en vont au bos au muget.
Capiaus font de mainte maniere,
Ançois que reviegnent arriere.
Beles sont les nuis et li jour
A ciaus qui maintienent amor.

Philip's other Romance, that of Blonde of Oxford and John of Dammartin, is written in the same style, and is peculiarly interesting as a picture of baronial manners in England in the twelfth century. John is a youth who leaves his father's household and his native country, to seek his fortune. He arrives in England, and enters the service of the earl of Oxford, of whose daughter Blonde he becomes enamoured. A considerable portion of the poem is occupied with their love adventures, and the difficulties into which they are led in their endeavours to conceal them. At length the earl of Oxford affiances his daughter to the earl of Gloucester, to escape which match she leaves home with her lover, and they fly to France. They are vigorously pursued by the earl of Gloucester, but, after various adventures, a general reconciliation is effected by the interference of the French monarch, and Blonde is married to John, who is made count of Dammartin. These two romances are preserved in a manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris.

Editions.

Roman de la Manekine, par Philippe de Reimes, . . . publié par Francisque Michel. Imprimé à Paris pour le Bannatyne Club. MDCCCXL. 4to.

The Romance of Blonde of Oxford and Jehan of Dammartin, by Philippe de Reimes, edited by Le Roux de Lincy. London: printed for the Camden Society. 4to.

MAURICE AND PETER DE CRAON.

RENAUD DE HOILANDE.

Among the song-writers of this period we find two Englishmen, father and son, named Maurice and Peter de Craon, of a family which came into our island with William the Conqueror, and was settled in Lincolnshire. Maurice de Craon, who had considerable estates in the county of Surrey, seems to have been in favour at the court of Henry II., who made him in 1174 governor of Ancenis; he appears the same year as one of the witnesses to the act of pacification between the king and his children; and in 1177, he was appointed with the bishops of Mans, Nantes, and Perigueux, to judge any disputes which might arise out of the treaty between Henry II. and king Louis of France. He died in 1216, and his son Peter had then livery of the estates in Surrey.*

A manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris contains two songs by Maurice and Peter de Craon. The first stanza of the song by Maurice de Craon will give the best notion of its style of composition.

> Al entrant del douz termine
> Del tans nouvel,
> Que naist la flours en l'espine,
> Et cist oisel
> Chantent parmi la gaudine
> Seri et bel,
> Dont me rassant amours fine
> D'un tres douz mal,
> Quar je ne pens à rienz al
> Fors là ù mes cuers s'acline.

* These particulars were collected by the abbé de la Rue.

In the first stanza of the song attributed to Peter de Craon, he speaks of having derived the faculty and privilege of singing of love from his ancestors, as though his father and himself were not the only poets of the family:—

Fine amours claimme en moi par hiretage
Droit : s'est raisons, quar bien et loiaument
L'ont servi de Creon, lor aage,
Li bon seigneur, qui tindrent ligement
Pris et valour et tout enseignement,
S'en chanterent, et je tout ensement
Vueill que de chant et d'amour lor retraie,
Et del seurpluz me met en sa manaie
De cuer, de cors, et d'amour et de vie,
Com à ma douce droite seignourie.

A manuscript in the Vatican also contains songs of Maurice de Craon,* but we do not know how many. Among them is a copy of the song last quoted, which is there attributed to Maurice and not to Peter.

The above specimens will give a notion of the style of the numerous song-writers of this age. Most of them were natives of France, and appear to have had no intimate connection with this country; but a song recently discovered among some old documents of a totally different nature,† has made us acquainted with the name of Renaud de Hoilande, probably a native of that district of Lincolnshire, who perhaps lived at the end of the twelfth century. The following is the first stanza of the song attributed to this writer.

Si tost c'amis entant à ben amer,
    Prant garde amours, si doit merchi avoir,
Qui se garde pora à celi donner
    Qui servi l'a si qu'il i doit paroir.
        Per çou ai-jou tel voloir

* See Keller's Romvart, p. 259, where the song alluded to is printed at length from the Vatican MS.

† This song is printed in the Anecdota Literaria, by the writer of the present volume, p. 88.

Que je ne voel mie
Que ma dame eust m'amie
Esté lors que je levi
Pour autre tour, s'estre pooit ensi.

Edition.

Chansons de Maurice et de Pierre de Craon, poëtes Anglo-Normands du xiie siècle, publiées . . par G. S. Trebutien. Caen, 1843. Square 12mo.

SIMON DU FRESNE.

We only know the age of this poet from the circumstance of his having been the friend of Giraldus Cambrensis, to whom he addressed some Latin epigrams. He is stated to have been a canon of Hereford cathedral. His name is attached in a rather singular manner to a French metrical abridgment of one of the most popular books of the middle ages, the treatise *De Consolatione* of Boethius, found in a manuscript in the British Museum.* At the conclusion it is stated,—

Icil ke cete Romanse fit,
Sun noun en cete Romanze mist,
Mis est en vint primere vers,
Ceo poet ver ke est clers.

And accordingly the initial letters of the first twenty lines (allowing for what appear to be misreadings of the scribe) make the words, *Simun du Fresne me fist,* "Simon du Fresne made me:"—

*S*olas dune et tolt ire
*I*cest Romanse, ke od lire
*M*ult porte en sei grant deport,
*U*n escrist est de grant confort.
*N*e deit home conustre ben
*D*e l'aver pur perdre ren,

* MS. Reg. 20 B. XIV. fol. 68, v°.

De l'altre part pur ren ke seit
Plus joius estre ne deit.
*F*ols est ke pur nul avoir
*R*en voit joier u doleir,
*E*n poi de hure vet et vent,
Li sages homme plet ne tent.
N'est aveir fors chose veine,
E ke aveir aver se peine,
*M*ult le quert od grant dolur,
E tut le part à chef de tur.
*F*ols est ke aveir desire,
*J*à ne serra sanz martyre,
*S*anz ire ne serra ure,
*T*ant li curra penser sure.

A more correct manuscript is preserved in the collection of Mr. Douce in the Bodleian Library. The poem is there entitled the Romance of Dame Fortune. M. de la Rue appears to us to have judged somewhat too partially of the style of this poem.

Simon du Fresne also wrote epigrams and short poems in Latin, a few of which are preserved in manuscripts at Lambeth palace and in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. They appear to have been mostly written in defence of Giraldus Cambrensis, against the attacks of some of his poetical detractors, such as Adam of Dore.* An epigram by Simon du Fresne, addressed to Giraldus, is preserved in MS. Cotton. Vitel. E. v., in which he speaks of Giraldus as not having yet been made a bishop, which justifies us in placing this writer in the reign of Richard I.

* See Tanner, who follows Leland in entering this writer rather absurdly under the name of Simon *Ashe*. In Latin his French name is translated *De Fraxino*.

NIGELLUS WIREKER.

Nigellus Wireker, as this writer is generally called,* held the office of præcentor in the church of Canterbury, and was one of the more remarkable literary men of the end of the twelfth century. Although a monk himself he seems to have been opposed to the corruptions which characterized the monastic orders, and which had crept into every part of the church. He was the intimate friend of William de Longchamp bishop of Ely, so celebrated in the history of the reign of Richard I., whose character appears to have been blackened by the monkish historians because he was hostile to their order. The writings of Nigellus enjoyed a very extensive popularity in subsequent times, as we may judge by the numerous manuscripts of them still existing.

The earliest productions of Nigellus now known appear to be some short pieces of Latin verse preserved at the beginning of a manuscript in the Cottonian Library (MS. Cotton. Vespas. D. xix.) The first of these commences with a fanciful play on his own name and on that of Honorius prior of Canterbury, and must therefore have been written between 1186, when he was elected to that office, and 1188, when he died of the plague at Rome.

In quascunque manus pervenerit iste libellus,
Dicat, in æterna requiescat pace Nigellus.
Si quid in hoc modico quod te juvet esse libello
Contigerit, dicas, sit lux æterna Nigello.

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* No early authority is adduced for the surname of Wireker, so far as we are aware. Jacobus Thomasius published a Disputatio de Nigello Wirekero, Lips. 1679. See Tanner.

Hujus quisquis eris conspector forte libelli,
Dic ita, Christe Jhesu miseri miserere Nigelli.
Factoris memor esto tui sic, parve libelle,
Sæpius et dicas, Vivas sine fine, Nigelle.
Ecclesiæ Christi nobilitatis, Honori,
Non onus es, sed honos, decus et decor, aptus honori;
Jure tibi quod habes dat honor de nomine nomen,
Nomen honoris habes, cum nomine nominis omen.
Nomen honoris habes, quo debes jure vocari,
Quo tua facta magis quam fata dedere beari.
Nomen honoris habes, sed factis nomen honoras,
Nominis interpres de nomine facta coloras;
Dumque studes fieri populi quod diceris ore,
Facta docent quis es, quantus, quam dignus honore.
Non vacat hoc igitur quod Honorius ipse vocaris,
Ex re nomen habes, quod diceris esse probaris.

In another of these short pieces, Nigellus speaks of the death of Honorius. They are followed by a longer poem, in good Latin elegiacs, on the miracles of the Virgin, which are perhaps to be attributed to the same author.

Two other manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, Julius A. VII. (fol. 58, v°,) and Cleopatra B. III. (fol. 112, r°,) contain copies of a poem by the same Nigellus, which commences with the following description of Spring, no unfavourable specimen of this writer's metrical powers:—

Postquam tristis hyems zephyro spirante recessit,
Grando, nives, pluviæ consuluere fugæ,
Terra parens florum vires rediviva resumpsit,
Exeruitque caput exhilarata suum,
Ver caput atque comes æstatis in otia curas
Laxat, et ablato frigore flore nitet.
Vernat fronde nemus, vestitur gramine tellus,
Veris odoriferi spirat ubique vapor.
Quicquid hyems hyemisque graves rapuere ministri,
Redditit æstatis gratia vere novo.
Veris ad imperium surgens statione soluta,
Clausa sub æstivo carcere cedit hyems.
Flante levi zephyro dum ver lascivit in herbas,
Æstas multiplici flore maritat humum.
Temporis atque loci facie redeunte serena,
Saltibus et silvis redditur exul avis;

Quæque diu siluit philomena silentia solvit,
Voce sua redimens verba negata sibi.
Cujus ad exemplum, sterili torpore remoto,
Morem temporibus qui gerit ipse sapit.

It appears by the concluding lines, that this poem was dedicated to William de Longchamp, soon after he was raised to the chancellorship in 1190. The writer addresses his book in Leonines :—

Si mihi credideris nulla ratione moreris,
Perficies leviter hoc brevitatis iter;
Nec timeas enses, quia seu statuant Elyenses
Prælia, sive joci sint ibi more loci,
Præsule tutus eris, vita votoque frueris,
Legatusque tibi non erit hostis ibi,
Nec cancellatus, sed ab ipso canonicatus
Jure reverteris, sicque perennis eris.

This short poem appears to be merely an introduction to a prose treatise on the corruptions in the church which follows it in the manuscript last mentioned, and which is addressed likewise to the bishop of Ely.* In this treatise, Nigellus speaks of the bishop in the most flattering terms, and addresses him as an enlightened reformer of the abuses of the age. He describes the disorders which had crept into the church during the preceding reign, and illustrates his observations by anecdotes which add considerably to the value of the book, which has never been printed. The following extract will give the best notion of the style in which it is written.

Longe autem aliter alteri contigit. Rege Henrico in finibus Valliæ cum exercitu agente, rumor subito ad curiam perlatus est quod clericus quidam dives valde diem clausisset extremum. Habebat autem idem multas ecclesias pretiosas, unam tamen pretiosiorem inter alias. Quo audito, clericus quidam qui inter alios gratiam in oculis regis ampliorem invenisse gloriabatur, surrexit velociter et petiit a rege litteras ad abbatem quendam pro

* It begins with the words, "Reverendo patri et domino Willelmo Dei gratia Eliensi episcopo, apostolicæ sedis legato, regni Angliæ cancellario, Cantuariensis ecclesiæ fratrum minimus frater Nigellus, veste monachus, vita peccator, gradu presbyter sed indignus."

ecclesia prædicta. Quibus impetratis, quia abbas ille ad quem spectabat donatio octo dierum itinere distabat a rege, festinavit ne alius præcurreret et apprehenderet bravium, et præriperet benedictionem. Mutatis igitur non semel equitaturis et quibusdam interfectis, ac sociis itineris impotentioribus obitum relictis, bis iiij[or] dietas fere duobus confecit. Substitit enim citra locum ubi abbas morabatur .x. miliaribus, non quia voluntas progrediendi deficeret, sed virtus propria, comitum et equorum regionis ignotæ error suspectus et nox pro parte jam exacta ulterius progredi prohibebat. Fatigatus autem ex itinere, et tristior effectus audito quod eo die ecclesia alteri esset collata, acrius cœpit ægrotari, versusque ad parietem nec cibum nec consolationem voluit accipere; unde in crastino utroque homine, altero præ fatigatione, altero præ anxietate frustrari desiderii, deficiente, abdormivit in mortem. Delatusque est ad abbatiam, et abbati ante mortuus nuntiatus et expositus, quam ipse causam adventus sui exponeret; adhuc litteræ regis facientes pro vivo recenti claudebantur sigillo, et jam mortuus claudebatur sepulcro. Priusque scitum est quare non recederet, quàm cur tam subito adveniret; ante passus est ruinam, quàm petitio ejus pateretur repulsam. Nondum abbas regiæ petitioni abnuerat, et ipse de non petendo ulterius jam satisdabat. Si mortuus est pro ecclesia quam ita ambierat, non est causandus rex, qui pro clerico suo scripsit, neque abbas qui rei nescius nec concessit nec negavit. Imo ipse qui in deferenda abbati petitione regia et nimis moratus et nimis festinavit; sicque dum nimio hiatu anhelavit ad obtinendum non habita, prius habita perdidit quàm obtineret quod optavit.

The most remarkable and most generally known of the writings of Nigellus is the *Speculum Stultorum,* a satire in Latin elegiacs on the follies of his age, directed more especially against the corruptions of the monastic orders. This poem enjoyed a very extensive popularity during the middle ages; many copies are still preserved in manuscript, and it was frequently printed by the early printers, who however fell generally into the error of calling the author *Vigellus.* This poem is addressed to a friend named William:—

> Suscipe pauca tibi veteris, Willelme, Nigelli
> Scripta, minus sapido nuper arata stylo:
> Hoc modicum novitatis opus tibi mitto legendum,
> Maxima pars animæ dimidiumque meæ.

This person is also supposed to be William de Longchamp bishop of Ely, in which case it must have been composed

at the latter end of the reign of Henry II., before William was raised to the prelacy, as here and in the prose prologue which generally accompanies the poem * he is not addressed as an ecclesiastic of rank. As the author applies to himself the term *vetus*, we may suppose that he was then advanced in years. The hero of this singular production is an ass named Brunellus, who is introduced dissatisfied with his own condition, and ambitious of possessing a longer tail. The ass, we are informed in the prose abstract, represents the monks in general, who were always longing after some new acquisition which was inconsistent with their profession. Brunellus consults a physician, Galienus, who represents to him the folly of his request, and states that in this particular king Louis of France was no less deficient than himself.

> In titulo caudæ Francorum rex Ludovicus
> Non tibi præcellit, pontificesve sui.
> Firmiter ergo tene quod habes, quia conditionem
> De facili posses damnificare tuam.

Galienus proceeds to tell a fable of two cows, who were caught by the tails in the ice during a sudden frost; but at last he gives him a receipt to make his tail grow longer, and sends him to Salernum to obtain the ingredients. Brunellus is there cheated by a merchant of London, and on his way home falls into other misfortunes, in the course of which he loses a part of his tail, and drowns a Cistercian monk who had plotted against his life. Ashamed to return to his native town without having profited by his journey, he determines to visit the schools to study, and with this object he proceeds to Paris. On the way he makes acquaintance with another traveller, named Gerhardus, who is repairing to Paris with the same object, and who

* Dilecto sibi in Christo et semper diligendo fratri Guilhelmo suus Nigellus salutem in summo et vero salutari.

tells him the story of a priest's son and a cock, as an example of the danger of provoking vengeful sentiments even in those who are weaker than ourselves. At length they arrive at Paris, and Brunellus associates himself with the scholars of the English nation.

Talia jam pariter gradientes plura referrent,
Parisius subeunt, hospitiumque petunt.
Corpora fessa quies recreat, tenuisque dieta,
Damna recompensant mensa calixque frequens.
Ossa, cutem, nervos, quæ vel labor aut via longa
Quassarat, refovent balnea, cura, quies.
Brunellusque sibi minuit, crinesque totondit,
Induit et tunica se meliore sua.
Pexus et ablutus, tandem progressus in urbem,
Intrat in ecclesiam, vota precesque facit.
Inde scholas adiens, secum deliberat utrum
Expediant potius ista vel illa sibi.
Et quia subtiles sensu considerat Anglos,
Pluribus ex causis se sociavit eis.
Moribus egregii, verbo vultuque venusti,
Ingenio pollent consilioque vigent.
Dona pluunt populis, et detestantur avaros;
Fercula multiplicant, et sine lege bibunt
Wesheil et *drincheil*, nec non persona secunda,
Hæc tria sunt vitia quæ comitantur eis.
His tribus exceptis, nihil est quod in his reprehendas;
Hæc tria si tollas, cætera cuncta placent.

Brunellus proves himself an unapt scholar, and quits Paris in despair, but at length he determines on entering one of the monastic orders. He then successively reviews their several characters, and condemns them all. The duties of the templars and hospitallers are too full of danger and hardship; the monks of Cluny, the Cistercians, those of Grandmont, the Carthusians, &c. are all objected to for their vices or their absurdity. The secular canons are charged with reckless profligacy.

Hi nihil excipiunt, nec dicunt despiciendum,
Quicquid in obsequio corporis esse potest.
Illud præcipue tamen instituere tenendum
Omnibus in tota posteritate sua,

Lex vetus ut suasit, ne quilibet absque sua sit,
Et quod quisque suas possit habere duas.
Hi sunt qui mundum cum flore cadente tenentes,
Ne cito marcescat sæpe rigare student.
Hi sunt qui faciunt quicquid petulantia carnis
Imperat, ut vitiis sit via prona suis.
Totus in errorem mundus, præeuntibus istis,
Ducitur, hi præeunt præcipitesque ruunt.

The nuns are described as being equally faulty with the monks—

Corpore serpentes, sirenes voce, dracones
Pectore, Susanna smigmate, corde Paris.

And we are further informed that—

Nunquam rixantur, nisi cum locus exigit, aut res ;
Sed neque percutiunt, sit nisi causa gravis.
Harum sunt quædam steriles, quædam parientes,
Virgineoque tamen nomine cuncta tegunt.
Quæ pastoralis baculi dotatur honore,
Illa quidem melius fertiliusque parit.
Vix etiam quævis sterilis reperitur in illis,
Donec eis ætas talia posse negat.

Dissatisfied with all the existing monastic orders, Brunellus resolves to form a new sect for himself, in which he joins the more agreeable characteristics of the others. In the midst of his reflections, he meets his old adviser, Galienus, tells him at some length his observations on the different ranks and orders of the clergy and on the various classes of society, and advises him to enter his new order. But in the midst of his speculations Brunellus suddenly falls into the hands of his master, from whom he had escaped when he visited Salernum, and he is compelled to end his days in the degraded position for which he was originally formed. Thus concludes the *Speculum Stultorum,* a severe satire on the condition of society in the age when it was written.

Several other tracts are ascribed to Nigellus by the old

bibliographers, some of which appear to be only different titles of the same work. The poem in the Cottonian MS. beginning with the words, *Si mihi credideris, linguam cohibe*, is nothing more than John of Salisbury's poetical introduction to the *Polycraticus*, entitled in some editions *Eutheticus*. The *Distinctiones super Novum et vetus Testamentum*, the *Excerptiones ex Guarnerio Gregoriano super moralia Job*, the *Glossæ in Johannem*, which are given under his name by Leland and Bale, appear to be lost.

Editions.

The first edition of the *Speculum Stultorum* was printed in folio, without date, and is now very rare.

Speculum stultorum. The second leaf begins, Incipit epistola veteris vigelli ad Vuilhelmum amicum suum, &c. Ends, Explicit speculum stultorum. With an epigram in six lines. 4to. black letter, without place or date, (*Brit. Mus.*)

Another edition, without date or name of place, in black letter, was printed in the fifteenth century.

Liber qui ītitulatur Brunellus in speculo stultorum. Narratio Galieni de bruneta et bicorni. Narratio de gallo et querimonijs galline. Brunellus 9uertit se ad sing'los status hoīm. At the end,—Brunelli in speculo stultorum Finis adest felicitur In imperiali feliciq; ciuitate Coloniensi Anno dominice incarnatiōis millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo nono die vltima Februarij. 4to. (*Brit. Mus.*)

An edition in small 4to, was printed at Paris, J. Petit, 1506.

Nigaldi Wiroker, anglici bardi, Speculum Stultorum. Parisiis, 1601.

Brunellus Vigelli, & Vetula Ovidii. Seu : opuscula duo Auctorum Incertorum : Prius quidem Vigelli, qui fertur, Speculum Stultorum ; Posterius vero Libri tres de Vetula, Ovidii, falso sic dicti . . . Anno cIↄ IↃCLXII. Wolferbyti. 8vo.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH.

BENEDICT appears to have been originally a monk of Canterbury. He held the office of chancellor to Becket's successor, archbishop Richard; in 1175 he was elected

prior of Canterbury, and in 1177 he was removed thence to be made abbot of Peterborough.* He died at the latter end of September, in the year 1193.†

Benedict is known chiefly by a history, or rather a chronicle, of his own times, written in Latin in a plain style, commencing with 1170, the year before the death of Becket, and ending with the year 1192, that which preceded his own death. It is the most valuable account left us of the events of this period, being compiled with labour and by a contemporary. Few monastic writers give so many official documents as are inserted in this history. It was transferred almost literally into the Annals of Roger de Hoveden. The following short extract will serve as a specimen of Benedict's latinity:

De ingressu Lodowici regis in Normanniam.

Similiter autem circa octabas apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Lodowicus rex Franciæ cum magno exercitu intravit Normanniam, et obsedit Vernolium, et statim fecit fieri machinas bellicas, et cotidie circumquaque fecerunt insultum in eo. Sed Hugo de Lasci et Hugo de Bellocampo, qui inde constabularii erant, villam Vernolii viriliter et constanti animo defenderunt, cum militibus et servientibus qui intus erant; nec regem Franciæ nec machinas suas timebant. Nam rex Franciæ cum suo magno exercitu parum proficiebat, quia jam per mensem ibi moram fecerat, et in nullo eis nocere potuit, nisi ex parte illa ubi tentoria sua fixa fuerant. Ibi enim positæ erant machinæ suæ bellicæ. Erant quidem infra Vernolium tres burgi præter castellum, et unusquisque eorum separatus erat ab altero et interclusus forti muro et fosso aqua pleno; unus vero illorum dicebatur magnus burgus, et ibi extra murum fixa erant tentoria regis Franciæ et machinæ illius bellicæ. In fine autem illius mensis, cum burgenses de burgo vidissent quod victus et necessaria eis defecissent, nec haberent quid manducassent, compulsi fame et inopia inducias triduanas ceperunt a rege Franciæ, ut libere irent et exirent ad regem Angliæ propter succursum, et nisi infra sequens triduum ab eo succursum haberent, redderent ei burgum illum quem tenebant.

An edition of this work was published, not so judiciously as could be desired, by Thomas Hearne, from a manu-

* Gervas. ap. Wharton, A. Sac. vol. i. p. 138.

† Annal. Joh. ab. Burg. ap. Sparke.

script in the Harleian Library, collated with two manuscripts in the Cottonian Library (MSS. Cotton. Julius A. XI, and Vitellius E. XVII), both of which are still preserved, although the latter has suffered much from the fire. An edition of the remaining works of this writer is promised by Dr. Giles. His life of Becket appears to be lost, but an abridgement of it was printed by Surius. Benedict was also the author of a collection of the miracles attributed to Becket, distributed into five books, of which Dr. Giles has discovered a copy among the manuscripts in a continental library. Tanner states erroneously that Benedict was one of the authors of the *Quadrilogus*. Leland* found in the library at Canterbury a treatise on the *Compotus*, and a *libellus de augmento et decremento lunæ* ascribed to *Benedictus monachus*, but it does not appear that this was Benedict of Peterborough.

Edition.

Benedictus abbas Petroburgensis de Vita et Gestis Henrici II. et Ricardi I. E codice MS. in Bibliotheca Harleiana descripsit et nunc primum edidit Thomas Hearnius. Oxonii, MDCCXXXV. 2 vol. 8vo.

RICHARD OF DEVIZES.

RICHARD of DEVIZES, so called probably from the place of his birth, was a monk of the priory of St. Swithun at Winchester, and the intimate friend of his prior, Robert. The latter was removed in 1191 to be made prior of the Charterhouse at Witham, and Richard visited him there, but he soon returned to Winchester, and there, shortly afterwards, wrote a history of the first years of the reign of

* Collectan. vol iii. p. 189.

Richard I, beginning in 1189, and ending with the king's departure from Palestine in 1192. He dedicated this book to his friend prior Robert, in a short prologue from which we derive all that is known of the author. It is probably his only work, for there is no reason for ascribing to him the general chronicle which precedes it in a manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, No. 339. The chronicle of Richard of Devizes is one of the earliest and most authentic memorials of the period to which it relates, but it is written in an affected style, filled with passages from the classic writers. The following singular character by a Jew of the chief cities in England will serve as a specimen:

Valedixit Judæo suo; cui Judæus, "Vade," ait, "viriliter. Deus patrum meorum deducat te sicut desidero." Et, impositis manibus super caput ejus, ac si esset hircus emissarius, post stridores quosdam gutturis et tacitas imprecationes, jam de præda securus, adjecit, "forti animo esto, obliviscere populum tuum et terram tuam, quia omnis terra forti patria est,

Ut piscibus æquor,
Et volucri vacuo quicquid in orbe patet.

Angliam ingressus si Londonias veneris, celeriter pertransibis; multum enim mihi displicit illa polis. Omne hominum genus in illam confluit ex omni natione quæ sub cœlo est; omnis gens sua vitia et suos mores urbi intulit. Nemo in ea sine crimine vivit; non omnis in ea vicus non abundat tristibus obscenis; eo ibi quisquis melior est quo fuerit major in scelere. Non ignoro quem instruo: habes supra tuam ætatem fervorem ingenii, frigiditatem memoriæ, ex utrinque contrariis temperantiam rationis. Nihil de te mihi metuo, nisi cum male viventibus commoreris; ex convictu enim mores formantur. Esto, esto, Londonias venies. Ecce, prædico tibi, quicquid in singulis, quicquid in universis partibus mundi mali vel malitiæ est, in una illa civitate reperies. Lenonum choros non adeas, ganearum gregibus non immiscearis; vita talum et tesseram, theatrum et tabernam. Plures ibi quam in tota Gallia thrasones offendes, gnathonum autem infinitus est numerus. Histriones, scurræ, glabriones, garamantes, palpones, pusiones, molles, masculari, ambubaiæ, pharmacopolæ, crissariæ, phitonissæ, vultuariæ, noctivagæ, magi, mimi, mendici, balathrones, hoc genus omne, replevere domos. Ergo, si nolueritis habitare cum turpibus, non habitabis Londoniis; non loquor in literatos vel religiosos, sive Judæos; quamvis et ex ipsa cohabitatione malorum, minus eos ibi quam alibi crediderim esse perfectos. Nec eo pergit

oratio, ut nullam te recipias civitatem, cum meo consilio nusquam tibi sit nisi in urbe manendum, refert tamen in qua. Si igitur circa Cantuariam appuleris, iter habebis perdere; si vel per eam transieris. Tota est illa perditorum collectio ad suum nescio quem nuper deificatum, qui fuerat Cantuariæ archipresbyter, quod passim præ inopia panis et otio per plateas moriuntur ad solem. Rovecestria et Cicestria viculi sunt, et cur civitates dici debeant præter sedes flaminum nihil obtendunt. Oxonia vix suos clericos non dico satiat, sed sustentat. Exonia eodem farre reficit homines et jumenta. Bathonia in imis vallium in crasso nimis aere et vapore sulphureo posita, imo deposita, est ad portas inferi. Sed nec in arctois sedem tibi legeris urbibus, Wigornia, Cestria, Herefordia, propter Walenses vitæ prodigos. Eboracum Scottis abundat, fœdis et infidis hominibus vel homuncionibus. Eliensis pagus putidus est pro circumfusis paludibus. In Dunelmo, Northwico, sive Lincolnia, perpaucos de potentibus de tua conditione, nullum penitus audies Romane loquentem. Apud Bristollum nemo est qui non sit vel fuerit saponarius, et omnis Francus saponarios amat ut stercorarios. Post urbes, omne forum, villa, vel oppidum, incolas habet rudes et rusticos. Omni insuper tempore pro talibus Cornubienses habeto, quales in Francia nostri nostros Flandrenses haberi. Cæterum regio ipsa generaliter in rore cœli et in pinguedine terræ tota beatissima est; in singulis etiam locis aliqui boni sunt, sed multo minus in omnibus quam in una Wintonia."

Edition.

Chronicon Ricardi Divisiensis de rebus gestis Ricardi Primi regis Angliæ. Nunc primum typis mandatum, curante Josepho Stevenson. Londini, M.DCCC.XXXVIII. 8vo. Published by the English Historical Society.

Translation.

The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes concerning the deeds of Richard the First, king of England. Also, Richard of Cirencester's Description of Britain. Translated and edited by J. A. Giles, LL.D. London, 1841. 8vo.

WILLIAM FITZ-STEPHEN.

One of the best writers of the life of Thomas Becket was William Fitz-Stephen, a native of London, and a clerk in Becket's household, who placed so much confidence in him that he gave him important employments in his

chancery, in his chapel, and in his court.* He further informs us that he was present with the primate in the parliament at Northampton, one of the most important events in the history of Becket's disputes with the king; and that he was a witness of his murder, as well as of many other of the events mentioned in his narrative.† It appears also, from a part of this life not contained in the printed text, that William Fitz-Stephen was excepted from the persecution which raged over the heads of Becket's other friends at the time of his exile, in return for a metrical prayer which he had once presented to the king in the chapel of Brehul (*de Bruhulla*), and which commenced with the lines—

Rex cunctorum sæculorum, rex arcis ætheriæ,
Rector poli, rector soli, regum rex altissime,
Qui et maris dominaris, conturbas et excitas,
Et quum placet, stratum jacet, motum ejus mitigas.
Tu creasti, tu formasti, cœlos, terras, maria;
Quæ fecisti, condidisti, tu gubernas omnia.
Omne bonum tuum donum, omnipotentissime;
Cuncta grata tua data, dominorum domine.

The whole of this prayer is inserted in the Life of Becket. This life, which appears to have been composed some time after the primate's death, is written in a calmer style (although by a partizan), and the narrative is more lucid, than most of the other lives of Becket. It was printed by Sparke, but from a very incomplete manuscript; a much

* Ego Willelmus filius Stephani . . . . ejusdem domini mei concivis, clericus, et convictor, et ad partem solicitudinis ejus oris ipsius invitatus alloquio, fui in cancellaria ejus dictator, in capella eo celebrante subdiaconus, sedente eo ad cognitionem causarum epistolarum et instrumentorum quæ offerebantur lector, et aliquarum eo quandoque jubente causarum patronus. Prolog. in Vit. Thomæ.

† Concilio Northamtoniæ habito, ubi maximum fuit rerum momentum, cum ipso interfui; passionem ejus Cantuariæ inspexi; cætera plurima, quæ hic scribuntur, oculis vidi, auribus audivi, quædam a consciis didici relatoribus. Ib.

superior edition is now in preparation by Dr. Giles. It opens with a detailed account of the city of London, and of the manners of its inhabitants, as the native place both of its author and of Becket; this has been printed separately in Stowe's Survey of London, by Hearne in his edition of Leland's Itinerary, and, with a translation, by Dr. Pegge. As a specimen of William's Latinity, we give his account of the schools which existed in London in the twelfth century.

In Londonia tres principales ecclesiæ scholas celebres habent de privilegio et antiqua dignitate. Plerumque tamen favore personali alicujus notorum secundum philosophiam plures ibi scholæ admittuntur. Diebis festis ad ecclesias festivas magistri conventus celebrant. Disputant scholares, quidam demonstrative, dialectice alii; hii rotant enthymemata, hii perfectis melius utuntur syllogismis. Quidam ad ostentationem exercentur disputatione, quæ est inter colluctantes; alii ad veritatem, quæ est perspectionis gratia. Sophistæ simulatores agmine et inundatione verborum beati judicantur; alii paralogizant. Oratores aliqui quandoque orationibus rhetoricis aliquid dicunt opposite ad persuadendum, curantes artis præcepta servare, et ex contingentibus nihil omittere. Pueri diversarum scholarum versibus inter se conrixantur; aut de principiis artis grammaticæ, vel regulis præteritorum vel supinorum, contendunt. Sunt alii qui in epigrammatibus, rythmis, et metris, utuntur vetere illa triviali dicacitate; licentia Fescennina socios, suppressis nominibus, liberius lacerant; lœdorias jaculantur et scommata; salibus Socraticis sociorum vel forte majorum vitia tangunt, vel mordacius dente rodunt Theonino audacibus dithyrambis. Auditores,

multum ridere parati,
Ingeminant tremulos naso crispante cachinnos.

Bale attributes to William Fitz-Stephen a book of visions seen after Becket's death, and another of his miracles, which were probably only the latter chapters of the life. Fitz-Stephen refers for his miracles to a large volume of them, collected at Canterbury,* which he would hardly have done had he published a collection himself. A collection of miracles ascribed to Becket, published in the

* Sed de miraculis ejus in Anglia sacerdotum et bonorum virorum testimonio declaratis,—et in capitulo Cantuariensis ecclesiæ publice recitatis, magnus codex conscriptus extat. Vit. S. Thomæ (in Dr. Giles's text).

Quadrilogus under the name of William of Canterbury, has been supposed to be the work of Fitz-Stephen.

Edition.

Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores varii, a Codicibus Manuscriptis nunc primum editi. Londini, 1723, fol. (by Sparke)—Vita Sancti Thomæ Archiepiscopi & Martyris, a Willielmo filio Stephani.

Translation.

Fitz-Stephen's Description of the City of London, newly translated from the Latin original; with a necessary Commentary, a Dissertation on the Author, and a correct Edition of the Original, &c. By an Antiquary [Samuel Pegge, LL.D.] 1772. 4to.

OTHER WRITERS OF THE LIFE OF BECKET.

THE life of Becket employed the pens of many writers during this period. One of these was ALAN abbot of Tewkesbury. He had been a monk of Christ's Church, Canterbury, and in 1179 was appointed prior of the church. In 1186, he was elected abbot of Tewkesbury. He died in 1202.* Alan wrote a supplement to John of Salisbury's life of Becket, containing a more detailed account than that writer had given of the transactions of the council of Clarendon. In a manuscript in the Bodleian library, the life and preface by John of Salisbury are introduced between the preface and work of Alan of Tewkesbury.† According to Pits, a manuscript at Louvain in his time contained sermons and letters by Alan of Tewkesbury. Two of his sermons are still preserved in a manuscript in the Bodleian library. A manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 288, contains letters of Alan prior of Canterbury to king Henry, as well as to the king of France and others, chiefly relating to

* See Tanner, and Wharton, Ang. Sac. vol. i. p. 138.

† There is another copy in the British Museum, MS. Addit. No. 11,506.

the translation of Becket's body; with others addressed to archbishop Baldwin, relating to certain rights which the metropolitan see of Canterbury claimed over the see of Rochester. Pits also attributes to this writer *Problematum lib. i.*, which he appears not to have seen.

Roger, monk of Croyland, and afterwards prior of Freston in Lincolnshire, was also the author of a life of Becket, commenced in the last year of the reign of Richard I. and finished late in that of John. It was dedicated to Henry abbot of Croyland, and, according to Leland, was divided into six books. There are manuscripts of a life of Becket, supposed to be that of Roger of Croyland, in the Bodleian library, and in the library of University College, Oxford, but only in three books, except in the latter, where a fourth book is added, *De gestis post martyrium*. Roger of Croyland is believed to have written the second or revised copy of the life and letters of Becket, first published by John of Salisbury.

PETER OF BLOIS.

Peter of Blois was one of those foreign ecclesiastics who so frequently during the twelfth century obtained benefices in England, and earned their celebrity as writers in their adopted country. He was born at Blois, of a noble family of lower Britany, and appears to have been educated at Tours.* He tells us himself that from his childhood he had passed his life either in the schools or in the courts of princes.† He removed from Tours to Paris,

* See Epist. xii. There is a good article on Peter of Blois in the Hist. Lit. de Fr. tom. xv, p. 341.

† Ep. cxxxix.

where he appears to have studied under John of Salisbury, whom he mentions as one of his teachers,* which would fix the date to between 1140 and 1150. He next went to Bologna, to study jurisprudence; and he seems to have quitted that place about 1160 or 1161, when, on his way to Rome to do homage to pope Alexander III., he and his companions were robbed and beaten by the emissaries of the anti-pope Victor IV.† On his return, he applied himself to the study of theology at Paris,‡ and at the same time he taught children and younger students. About the year 1167, he accompanied Stephen du Perche into Sicily, to assist him in governing that island during the minority of William III. and regency of that prince's mother, queen Margaret, and was made keeper of the royal seal. Peter soon, however, became obnoxious to the Sicilians, and, in order to induce him to resign his office, several bishoprics were offered him, which he refused. At length, after he had held the royal seal about a year, he found himself compelled to leave Sicily, and he again commenced teaching at Paris, where he appears to have gained a considerable reputation for his learning and literary acquirements.§

Peter of Blois was invited to England by king Henry II., and made chancellor to the archbishop of Canterbury; but we are ignorant of the date of this event. It would appear from one of his letters that he had been sent on a mission to Paris by king Henry II. in 1173; ‖ but we know with more certainty that in the beginning of the year 1175 he returned from a mission to Rome with which

* Ep. xxii.

† Epp. xxvi, xlviii.

‡ Ep. xxvi.

§ Epp. lxxii, xc, cxxxi.

‖ Ep. lxxi.

he had been intrusted by the English monarch.* In 1177 he was sent to Rome, in company with Girard la Pucelle, to defend the claims of the archbishop of Canterbury against the abbey of St. Augustine, in a quarrel which had arisen between them; but he was unsuccessful.† In 1187, he was again sent to the pope, Urban III., then residing at Verona, to support the cause of archbishop Baldwin against his monks.‡ We have no information of the date at which Peter was made archdeacon of Bath, but it was probably towards the end of the reign of Henry II. He appears, from some reason or other, to have been in disfavour with Richard I., but he was supported by the friendship of the bishops of Worcester and Durham, and after their deaths he obtained the favour of queen Eleanor, the widow of his patron king Henry II., who made him her secretary, an office which he held from 1191 until after 1195. He was a steady friend of William de Longchamp, bishop of Ely, to whom he wrote a letter of consolation on his disgrace,§ in which he predicts his restoration to his dignities on the return of the king. His attachment to this prelate was perhaps the cause of some of his own misfortunes; for we find him at this time exposed to the attacks of many enemies, who at length, by accusations which are now no longer known, caused him to be deprived of his dignity of archdeacon of Bath. In the following letter‖ to two friends at court, he laments the treatment which he had experienced on this occasion, and compares with his present disgrace the favour he had enjoyed in the preceding reign.

* See Hist. Lit. de Fr. XV. p. 343.

† Hist. W. Thorn, ap. Decem Scriptores, col. 1821.

‡ Gervas. Dorob. Hist. col. 1498.

§ Ep. lxxxvii.

‖ Ep. cxlix.

Ab amaritudine animæ meæ et ab inconsolabili dolore cordis mei totus absorbeor, et utinam omnes cataractæ capitis mei fluant in fletum. Utinam maxima pars cerebri atque maxillarum totius miseri corporis mei liquescat in lachrymas, ut possim flere et plangere, quod videre non possum. A rege Henrico vocatus in Angliam, et ab eo atque filiis ejus ditatus largitionibus effusis, nec non ab archiepiscopis et episcopis et universis magnatibus terræ omni veneratione usque ad malitiam hujus temporis exaltatus, nunc occasione quarumdam litterarum, quæ et per taciturnitatem veritatis et per expressionem falsitatis obtentæ sunt a domino papa, crudelissime circumvento toto populo et clero tantæ civitatis, quorum curia et custodia mihi commissa est, senex et emeritus a juvene, simplex et valetudinarius ab ambitioso, mansuetus et innocens a versuto, et ut temperatius loquar, turpi crimine diffamatus ab omni honore archidiaconatus mei violenter expellor. Porro lator præsentium tragœdiam istam vobis apertius explanabit: singultuosus enim dolor os meum syncopis et λειποθυμία impediens, me loqui aut scribere non permittit. Datus sum per astutiam malignantis in opprobrium et contemptum, nisi miseria mea vestram excitet misericordiam, et passiones meæ vestræ compassionis affectum provocaverint. Miseremini mei saltem vos amici mei, quos etsi meritorum meorum exigentia mihi amicos non fecit, tamen miserum hunc amare compellat pia compassio, quæ venire frequenter in contractum amicitiæ consuevit. Nulli, nisi vobis duobus, in curia scribo: unicam enim post Deum in vobis spei meæ anchoram fixi; nec sum immemor verbi quod veritas in Evangelio dicit: Super quacumque re duo ex vobis consenserint super terram, fiet illis. Ethnicus etiam dicit,

Non caret effectu quod voluere duo.

Disgusted with his treatment in England, Peter of Blois was on the point of leaving his adopted country and returning to France, when he was made archdeacon of London by Gilbert Foliot. The revenues and power of the archdeaconry of London being then very small, the bishop exerted himself successfully to obtain from the pope the same privileges as those enjoyed by the other archdeacons, and he also gave Peter the deanery of Wolverhampton; but this he soon resigned on account of the immoral conduct of the canons.* We know nothing of his subsequent life, but he is generally supposed to have died soon after 1198.†

* Epp. cli. clii.

† In the Close Roll of 14th John (A.D. 1212) is the following entry relating to the executors of Peter of Blois, but it does not appear how long

The most important of the writings of Peter of Blois are his letters, written in good Latin, and collected together at the express desire of King Henry II. They are full of interesting notices relating to the history and to the manners of his times. In them he appears personally as a man of irritable temper, violent in his resentments, and vain of his own talents. We see, evidently, that it was his ambition to be an universal scholar; he prides himself on his facility and rapidity in composition and on the varied character of his reading, and he sneers at others for passing their lives in ruminating on one branch of science.* In a letter to a friend who bore the same name as himself, and whom he congratulates on this coincidence, he boasts of the popularity and durability of his writings, which, he says, would outlive the effects of flood or fire, and would neither be destroyed by sudden ruin or by the slow effects of time.† We learn from his letters that in his youth he had addicted himself to literature of a lighter character, and had composed love-songs, which, however, he had relinquished for more serious occupations on the approach of manhood.‡ He rejoices in having converted his brother William from

he had then been dead. Rex Brieno de Insulis, &c. Præcipimus tibi quod sine dilatione habere permittas executoribus magistri Petri Blesensis quondum archidiaconi London. plenam et liberam dispositionem rerum et catallorum quæ habuit et habere debet in balliva tua. Testo domino P. Wint. episcopo apud Turrim London. xx. die Maii.—It appears from the Close Roll of the 9th John (A.D. 1208) that Peter of Blois, canon of Ripon, had had his goods seized in the time of the interdict; but this may have been another person, as we have already heard of one other Peter of Blois in this age.

* See Ep. xliii.

† Nostra etiam scripta, quæ se diffundunt et publicant circumquaque, nec inundatio, nec incendium, nec ruina, nec multiplex sæculorum excursus poterit abolere. Ep. lxxvii.

‡ Ego quidem nugis et cantibus venereis quandoque operam dedi, sed per gratiam ejus qui me segregavit ab utero matris meæ rejeci hæc omnia a primo limine juventutis. Ep. lxxvi.

these vain studies;* and urges the friend and namesake to whom we have just alluded to follow his example, and abstain from frivolous writings and jests, (*abstinere a ludicris et scurrilibus,*) and the "fabulous comments of the Gentiles." — "What," he says, "have you to do with these false vanities and follies? What concern have you, who ought to be an organ of truth, with the fabulous loves of the gods of the Gentiles?"† "You have spent your days until old age in the fables of the Gentiles, in the studies of the philosophers, and finally in civil law, and, contrary to the wishes of all who loved you, you have endangered your soul by avoiding the sacred page of theology."‡ Yet at other times he speaks of his own love for the writers of antiquity; and he ends a letter to his nephew full of complaints on the vanities of the world, with a request that he would send him the songs and playful pieces which he had composed in his youth at Tours, in order that he might himself make transcripts of them.§ In another letter we learn that a monk named G. d'Aunai had complained to him of being exposed to and tormented

* Illud nobile ingenium fratris mei magistri Guillelmi, quandoque in scribendis comœdiis et tragœdiis quadam occupatione servili degenerans, salutaribus monitis ab illa peremptoria vanitate retraxi: qui in brevi præeminens in exercitio doctrinæ cœlestis fructuosa prædicationis instantia perditi jacturam temporis plenissime restauravit. *Ib.* I have printed one of the "Comedies" of William of Blois, the Alda, in my "Selection of Latin Stories," p. 192.

† Te quidem in summos eminentiæ titulos scientia scholarum exhilarat: cumque debuisses aliis esse virtutum forma et speculum honestatis, per scurriles nugas et fabulosa commenta gentilium factus es multis laqueus in ruinam. Quid tibi ad vanitates et insanias falsas? Quid tibi ad deorum gentilium fabulosos amores, qui debueras esse organum veritatis? Ep. lxxvi.

‡ In fabulis paganorum, in philosophorum studiis, tandem in jure civili dies tuos usque in senium expendisti, et contra omnium te diligentium voluntatem sacram theologiæ paginam damnabiliter horruisti. *Ib.*

§ Mitte mihi versus et ludicra quæ feci Turonis: et scias, cum apud me transcripta fuerint, eadem sine dilatione aliqua rehabebis. Ep. xii.

by the temptations of the flesh, and at the same time had asked for copies of some of the lighter compositions of his youth to amuse his leisure hours. Peter of Blois, in reply, represents to him that such writings would only increase the temptations of which he complained, and, instead of them, sends him a pious song, the work of his more mature pen,* which is almost the only specimen remaining of his compositions of this class. It is long and dull, commencing thus :—

Cantilena de lucta carnis et spiritus.

Olim militaveram
pompis hujus sæculi,
quibus flores obtuli
meæ juventutis.
Pedem tamen retuli
Circa vitæ vesperam,
Nunc daturus operam
militiæ virtutis.

This poem was written in 1193, and contains a series of reflections arising out of the misfortunes of king Richard on his return from the Holy Land. In the body of the poem he says—

Quis aquam tuo capiti,
quis dabit tibi lacrymas,
Ut laudes regis inclyti
fraudesque ducis exprimas ?
In regiones ultimas
Planctu discurrat anxio
proditio,
Nostrique regis captio,
quæ tot affligit animas.

And after another stanza on the same subject, he continues,—

* Quod autem amatoria juventutis et adolescentiæ nostræ ludicra postulas ad solatium tædiorum, consiliosum non arbitror, cum talia tentationes excitare soleant et fovere. Omissis ergo lascivioribus cantilenis, pauca quæ maturiore stylo cecini tibi mitto, si te forte relevent a tædio et ædificent ad salutem. Ep. lvii.

Flos regum, ducum, procerum,
Iter quod erat liberum
sensit inextricabile.
Dum incidit in Cerberum,
qui facile
detexit cor ignobile,
vas Deo detestabile,
Vas scelerum,
Dum crucifigit iterum
Christum in Christi pugile.
Judas Christum distraxerat,
dux regem vendit Angliæ,
Sed crimen hoc exaggerat
idolatra pecuniæ.
Nam impie
Pacem cum rege finxerat,
Dum ei rex improperat,
Quod fugerat,
relicta crucis acie,
cedens in partem Syriæ.

No other documents throw so much light on the literary jealousies and feuds of the latter half of the twelfth century, as the letters of Peter of Blois, who himself appears to have been by no means free from them. In one instance, while he was attached to the archbishop of Canterbury, a professor of grammar at Beauvais in Picardy, named Ralph, wrote him a letter attacking the manners and studies of the clergy who lived in the courts of princes and prelates. In his reply, Peter of Blois gives an interesting character of the learned men dependent on the archbishop:—"There are," he says, "in the house of my lord the archbishop of Canterbury, men deeply versed in literature, among whom is found all rectitude of justice, all prudence of foresight, every form of learning. These, after prayers and before eating, exercise themselves assiduously in the reading, arguing, and deciding of causes. All the knotty questions of the kingdom are referred to us; which being propounded among our fellows in the common auditory, each in his turn without strife or contention sharpens his mind to speak well, and puts forth

with his cunning whatever appears to him most advisable and profitable."* In revenge for the too free observations of his correspondent, he sneers at the narrow compass of his grammar studies. "You have remained with the ass in the mire of a very dull intelligence. Priscian and Tully, Lucan and Persius, these are your gods. I fear lest when you die it may be said to you in reproach, Where are your gods in whom you have put your trust?"†

The chief fault in the style of Peter of Blois is an affectation of far-fetched comparisons and allegories (which was a common failing in the writers of his day) and the heaping together of a multiplicity of citations from ancient authors, for which he was remarkable even among his contemporaries. His letters are sometimes filled with verses from the Latin poets. In one,‡ he defends himself at some length against a critic who had charged him with this latter fault; and in the following lines, which are extracted from the letter alluded to, he quotes Terence once and Horace twice.

Arguit æmulus, et temeritati adscribit, quod literas meas passim et varie dispersas in unum colligo: quod formam dictandi præscribo simplicibus, quod publicæ utilitati munus devoti laboris et officium charitatis impendo. Cesset æmulus a verborum injuriis: nam si pergit dicere quæ vult, audiet quæ non vult. Plenus sum rimarum,

hac atque illac perfluo.

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* In domo domini mei Cantuariensis archiepiscopi viri literatissimi sunt, apud quos invenitur omnis rectitudo justitiæ, omnis cautela providentiæ, omnis forma doctrinæ. Isti post orationem, et ante comestionem, in lectione, in disputatione, in causarum decisione, jugiter se exerceant. Omnes quæstiones regni nodosæ referuntur ad nos; quæ cum inter socios nostros in commune auditorium deducuntur, unusquisque secundum ordinem suum sine lite et obtrectatione ad bene dicendum mentem suum acuit, et quod ei consiliosius videtur et sanius de vena subtiliore producit. Ep. vi.

† Vos in cœno crassioris intelligentiæ cum asino remansistis. Priscianus et Tullius, Lucanus et Persius, isti sunt dii vestri. Vereor ne in extremæ necessitatis articulo vobis improperando dicatur, Ubi sunt dii tui in quibus habebas fiduciam? *Ib.*

‡ Ep. xcii.

Qui me commorit, melius non tangere clamo,
Flebit, et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.

Utinam experiatur invidus meus ingenii sui vires, ac de flosculis sacri eloquii compilatis, simile componat opusculum. Si tamen hoc attentaverit, quod modo levissimum putat, vereor ne multum sudet, frustraque laboret,

Infelix operis summa, quia ponere totum
Nesciet.

Incipere quidem poterit, sed si novi hominis facultatem, ignominiose et infeliciter consummabit. Quicquid canes oblatrent, quicquid grunniant sues, ego semper æmulabor scripta veterum: in his erit occupatio mea; nec me, si potero, sol unquam inveniet otiosum. Nos quasi nani super gigantum humeros sumus, quorum beneficio longius quam ipsi speculamur, dum antiquorum tractatibus inhærentes elegantiores eorum sententias, quas vetustas aboleverat, hominumve neglectus, quasi jam mortuos in quandam novitatem essentiæ suscitamus.

In the following brief extract from another letter,* he quotes Ovid, Persius, and one of the Epistles of Seneca, whom he speaks of as the wise man: it is an interesting passage, as describing the extreme attachment he felt towards his benefactor, king Henry II.

Scio, quia eos qui in curia domini regis morantur, aut potius moriuntur, spes regiæ liberalitatis frequenter exhilarat, quæ quandoque in multos magnifice et munifice se effundit. Sperat autem unusquisque sibi eventurum, quod videt pluribus aliis evenisse. Sub istius expectationis dulcis et incertæ solatio tædiosa delectant, gravia levigantur, amara dulcescunt, nostrique martyres labores, quamvis infirmi, expensas etiam, quamvis avari, non sentiunt.

Sic, ut non perdat, non cessat perdere lusor,
Et revocat cupidas alea blanda manus.

Videntur mihi in verbis et desideriis illum Persii versare versiculum.

Jam dabitur, jam, jam; donec deceptus et exspes,
Nec quicquam fundo suspirat nummus in imo.

Porro juxta Sapientem, sera est in fundo parsimonia. Illud in curia detestabile est, quia qui magis diligunt minus diliguntur. Imperiti enim et omnino inutiles elegantioribus beneficiis ampliantur, divitiæ accumulantur divitibus: nec est qui respiciat ad inopem et mendicum. Helizæus implebat vasa vacua, et plena implentur, ligna in sylvas et aquæ in maria deferuntur. Ego sane dispendia enormium expensarum, et super omnia jacturam perditi temporis, deplorarem: nisi, quia maximum laboris mei reputo fructum, quod nostrum principem per gratiam Dei et suam semper habui propitium, mitem, affabilem, et benignum. Nunquam porrexi ei preces, quas non admiserit liberaliter: præparationem etiam cordis mei in pluribus ejus benignitas quandoque præ-

* Ep. xiv.

venit. Diligebam ipsum, et diligo, et semper diligam ex affectu: nec me diligat Deus, cum ab ipsius dilectione desistam. Gratia namque ejus me perpetuo vindicavit in suum: suumque semper erit, si quid cogito, si quid scribo, si quid sum, si quid valeo, si quid possum. Hinc erat, quod quandiu vestra usus sum comitiva, quælibet dies, in qua domini regis alloquio non fruebar, mihi tristis et nubila videbatur dies; in qua vero suo me dignabatur alloquio, mihi tota tanquam dies imperialis in gaudio ducebatur. Confidentissime dico, majoremque partem mundi testem habeo, in hac parte a tempore Caroli nullum fuisse principem adeo benignum, prudentem, largum, et strenuum.

As a further example of the style of this celebrated writer, we may cite the following picture of a tempest at sea, written, during one of his missions, to the archbishop of Canterbury.*

Me nuper ad obedientiam vestræ jussionis accinxeram, jamque licentiatus et accepta vestra benedictionis gratia recedam, cum propter negotia quædam casualiter tunc emergentia revocastis me, ac firmiter injunxistis ut vos frequentioribus nuntiis certiorarem de statu meo et de his quæ mihi in via contingerent. Descenderam ad mare et navem ascenderam, cumque jam exposuissemus vela ventis et vitam periculis, ecce nix, grando, imber, ac spiritus procellarum cœlos obduxerunt caligine, atque in terribiles aquarum montes maris deformavere planitiem. Mirabiles erant elationes maris, fluctus enim ascendebant in cœlos, et descendebant in abyssos, et anima mea in ipsis tabescebat. Omnes qui in nave erant moti sunt et turbati sunt sicut ebrius, et omnis sapientia eorum devorata est. Ille qui gubernaculo præerat et sedebat in puppi, abjecta arte et derelicta sede, navem fortuito commisit eventui. Universi patiebantur spiritum vertiginis, spiritum abominationis et nauseæ. Non erat qui manus aut oculos in cœlum erigeret; non erat qui porrigeret Deo preces, qui satisfactioni aut pœnitentiæ se offerret. Jacebant omnes destituti officio membrorum, aut animo consternati, et facti sunt velut mortui. Licet autem tunc æstivale solstitium ad incrementum diei plurimum de noctis spacio recidisset, nunquam tamen nox aliqua adeo longa visa est mihi. Nam a meridie nox ista incepit, quæ tempus alienum sibi quadam tyrannide procellosa usurpans in suas tenebras lucem vertit. O nox damnatissima, nec in toto anni circulo computanda, nox turbinis, nox iræ, nox horroris et mortis.

Besides the Epistles, which were collected into a large volume by the author at the request of Henry II., and his Sermons, the printed edition of the works of Peter of Blois contains seventeen tracts or *opuscula*, none of them possessing any great importance at the present day. They are,—

* Ep. lii.

1. A treatise on the transfiguration of Christ.

2. On the Conversion of St. Paul.

3. A Compendium on Job; he composed this at the king's desire, in order to inspire him with patience under some of his tribulations.

4. An Exhortation to the crusade, entitled, *De Jerosolymitana peregrinatione acceleranda.*

5. A treatise entitled *Instructio fidei,* which is considered to be of doubtful authenticity.

6. On the Sacramental Confession.

7. On Penitence.

8. *De Institutione Episcopi,* a treatise on the duties of a bishop, addressed to John de Coutances, who was appointed to the see of Worcester in 1196, so that this must have been one of Peter's latest writings.

9. An invective against a writer who made an attack upon him.

10. A tract, "against the perfidy of the Jews."

11. On Christian friendship and charity towards God and our neighbour.

12. On the utility of tribulations.

13. A violent satire against the bishops of Aquitaine and the abuses in the church there, entitled *Quales sunt.* The writer of the article in the Histoire Littéraire de France believes this to be the work of another author.

14. A fragment of an *Epistola aurea de silentio servando.*

15. A fragment of the book *De præstigiis fortunæ.* This work, which was the one on which he laboured most, was devoted to the history and encomium of his patron, king Henry II.* and is mentioned more than once in his letters. It unfortunately appears to be lost.

16. A short tract on the division of the sacred writings and writers.

17. A treatise on the Eucharist.

* See Ep. lxxvii.

A few tracts by this writer, not printed in his works, may still be found in different collections. Dr. Giles has discovered about fifty inedited letters. Leland, in his Collectanea, has given some extracts from lives of Wilfred and Guthlac attributed to Peter of Blois. His Dialogue between King Henry and the abbot of Bonval is preserved in a manuscript in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, No. cv. Other tracts are of more doubtful authenticity. The père Bussée, in his edition of the works of Peter of Blois (1600), printed under his name the Sermons of Petrus Comestor.

The name of Peter of Blois has also been placed at the head of a continuation of the history of Croyland attributed to Ingulf. If, as seems probable, the work ascribed to Ingulf be a forgery, the continuation must share in the same character; and internal evidence appears to support us in looking upon the latter as supposititious. In the first place it is not probable that the monks of Croyland should have applied to a stranger to write the history of their house, and we can trace no connection between them and Peter of Blois. The work in question is prefaced by a letter from Henry de Longchamp (made abbot of Croyland in 1191) to Peter, acquainting him with the desire of his monks that he would undertake to continue the history of Ingulf, and Peter's reply acquiescing in their wishes. Neither this letter, nor the book itself, exhibit any of the peculiarities of style found in the works of Peter of Blois. One of the most interesting passages in this work is the account of the school of abbot Joffrid at Cambridge in the early part of the twelfth century, where, as the writer of this history informs us, Joffrid lectured on the writings of the Arabian philosopher Averroes. Now Averroes himself flourished in the latter half of the same century, and died at Marocco in 1198. It is very improbable therefore that Peter of Blois should have made

such a mistake as this passage implies; or that he could himself have been acquainted with the writings or even with the name of the Arabian philosopher.

Editions.

Incipiũt epistole Magistri petri. At the end, Expliciũt epistole magistri petri blesensis bathoniensis archidyaconi. fol. Without date or place, but printed at Brussels, about the year 1480, no doubt by one of the communities of *Fratres communis vitæ* established in or near that town.

¶Petri Blesensis divinarũ ac humanarũ litterar' viri admodũ copiosissimi insignia opera in unũ volumẽ collecta & emendata authore J. M. doctore theologo subsequẽti ordine habentur. Epistole. Sermones. Tractatus in librum Job. Contra perfidiam iudeorum. De confessione. De amicitia Christiana. ¶ Venundantur ab Johanne paruo sub lilio aureo in via Jacobea. Cum priuilegio. At the end, ¶ Petri Blesensis Bathoniẽsis archidiaconi Opera, diuersis in locis recollecta, multisqꝫ mẽdis purgata Paris' felici auspicio finẽ sumpsere: opera et industria magistri Andree boucard calcographi. Impensis autem Johannis petit illius vniuersitatis bibliopole iurati. Ex die xv. Octobris. M.CCCCC. XIX. fol. The editor's name was Jacques Merlin.

Opera Petri Blesensis, Bathoniensis quondam in Anglia archidiaconi, et apud Cantuariensem archiepiscopum cancellarii. Ope et studio Joannis Busæi Noviomagi, Societatis Jesu Theologi. Moguntiæ, clↄ. lↄ. c. 4to.

This edition was reprinted in the twelfth volume of the Bibliotheca Patrum of Cologne.

Paralipomena Opusculorum Petri Blesensis, et Joannis Trithemii, aliorumque, nuper in typographeo Moguntino editorum, a Joanne Busæo Societatis Jesu theologo . . . . Coloniæ Agrippinæ, Anno M.DC.XXIV. 8vo. It contains the tracts De Perfidia Judæorum, De Amicitia Christiana, and De Charitate Dei et Proximi. The first edition of this supplement to Bussée's edition was published in 1608.

Petri Blesensis Bathoniensis in Anglia archidiaconi Opera omnia ad fidem manuscriptorum codicum emendata, notis et variis monumentis illustrata, Editio nova, in qua nonnulla ejusdem auctoris opuscula hactenus inedita nunc primum prodeunt. . . . Parisiis, M.DC.LXVII. fol. Edited by Pierre de Gussanville.

This edition was reprinted in the twenty-fourth volume of the Magna Bibliotheca Patrum of Lyons, pp. 911—1365.

Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum Tom. I. (Ed. Gale) Oxoniæ, M.DC.LXXXIV. fol. pp. 108—130. Petri Blesensis continuatio ad Historiam Ingulphi.

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS.

GIRALDUS DE BARRI, or, as he is more commonly entitled from the country of which he was a native, Giraldus Cambrensis, was born about the year 1146.* He was the fourth son of William de Barri, a powerful Norman baron, and by the maternal side he was near of kin to the princes of South Wales and to most of the powerful families of the principality. His taste for letters was exhibited when very young; he tells us that when a child he used to amuse himself with drawing churches and monasteries in the sand, that his father called him playfully his little bishop, and that he predicted his future progress in learning. These expectations, however, seemed to have little prospect of being fulfilled, until his uncle David FitzGerald, bishop of St. David's, undertook his education. He appears to have remained with this prelate until he had reached his twentieth year, when he repaired to Paris to pursue the higher branches of study,† and, after having attained a considerable reputation for literary attainments, he lectured there on rhetoric and polite literature.

In 1172 Giraldus returned to England and obtained preferment in the church there and in Wales. Observing great negligence in the ecclesiastical government in this latter country, he obtained from Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1175, a commission to examine into and correct these abuses, and he proceeded in a vigorous and resolute manner in his attempts to reform

* The principal materials for the life of Giraldus are found in his own work, *De gestis suis*, of which Sir Richard Colt Hoare has given an abstract in the Introduction to his translation of the Itinerary of Wales.

† De Gestis, lib. i. c. 2.

the morals of the clergy, especially in forcing the married priests, who appear to have been then numerous, to separate from their wives or concubines. The archdeacon of Brecknock was obstinate in resisting the will of the doctor on this latter point, and, having been very negligent of his duties in other respects, he was deprived of his archdeaconry, which the archbishop of Canterbury bestowed on Giraldus, as a mark of his approbation of the effective manner in which he had executed his commission. The rigour with which Giraldus executed his new duties, and his boldness in asserting the rights of the church, led him into many disputes and gained him not a few enemies; but his conduct was so far approved by the chapter of St. David's, that on the death of the bishop in 1176, they chose him to succeed in that see.*

King Henry was dissatisfied with the choice made by the canons, and, when they persisted in defending it, he threatened angrily to seize their temporal possessions. It was at last referred by the king to the judgment of the archbishop and bishops of his province, and Giraldus himself informs us that the king stated to them that his only objection to him was the circumstance of his being a Welshman and nearly related to the Welsh princes and nobles. He said that the pride and pretensions of the Welsh would be increased by such an appointment, asserting that "it was neither necessary nor expedient for the king or the archbishop, that too upright or active a man should be bishop of St. David's, lest either the crown of England or the see of Canterbury should receive detriment."† Giraldus and the canons persisted no longer in

* De Gestis, lib. i. c. 3—9.

† Nec regi nec archiepiscopo opus esse aut expediens, nimis probum aut strenuum, ne vel Angliæ corona vel Cantiæ cathedra detrimentum sentiat, in ecclesiæ sancti David episcopum esse. De Gestis, lib. i. c. 10, p. 476.

their resistance to the king's will; but, being called into the royal chamber at Winchester, they elected the person he recommended to them, Peter de Leia prior of Wenlock.

Giraldus, disappointed in his ambition, returned to Paris, and devoted himself to the study of jurisprudence, intending, as he expresses it, "to raise up the walls of the laws and canons on the foundation of arts and literature."* In the account he has given of his studies at this period, he speaks with pride of the fame he acquired by his eloquent declamations in the schools, and boasts how the crowded audiences of doctors and scholars were never tired in listening to them, charmed by the sweetness of his voice, the beauty of his language, and the force of his arguments.† In 1179 he was elected public professor of canon laws; but he refused to accept this honourable office, and soon afterwards returned to England, taking his way through Flanders, where he was present at a tournament held by the count Philip in the city of Arras.

On reaching England he paid a visit to Canterbury, where he was hospitably received by the prior and monks of Christ's Church, and proceeded thence in company with a party of pilgrims to London. On his arrival he found the bishop of Winchester in his consistory court at Southwark, hearing a cause pleaded between the sister of Giraldus and her husband, who had sued for a divorce, but by his intermediation they were reconciled, and the cause dismissed. On his return to Wales, Giraldus found that the bishop of St. David's had quarrelled with his clergy, and that he had quitted his episcopal residence to

* Super artium et literaturæ fundamentum legum et canonum parietes in altum erigere.

† Tanta nempe verborum dulcedine fuerant et deliniti, ut dicentis ab ore tanquam penduli et suspensi longo licet eloquio et prolixo, etc. De Gestis, lib. ii. c. 1. p. 477.

wait in an English convent until peace should be restored to his diocese. By the interest of the archbishop of Canterbury, Giraldus, who still retained his archdeaconry of Brecknock, was appointed administrator of the diocese in the absence of the bishop; and he tells us that he executed his office with the greatest prudence and moderation. But in the sequel the bishop interfered between Giraldus and the clergy of St. David's so violently and injudiciously that the former resigned his office, and threatened to carry his complaints before the pope. They were however at last reconciled by the exertions of their common friends.*

Soon after these events, in 1184, King Henry, visiting the borders of Wales to repress the turbulence of the borderers, heard of the great learning of Giraldus, and invited him to his court. He was subsequently sent to the border in the quality of a pacificator, and was present at Hereford at the conference between Rhys, prince of South Wales, and the royal commissioners, archbishop Baldwin and Ranulph de Glanville.† The same year he accompanied the king to Normandy. Henry was so well satisfied with his services on these occasions that he appointed him his chaplain, and made him repeated promises of high preferment; which, however, were never fulfilled, for he still expressed himself jealous of him as a native Welshman and a near kinsman of the Welsh princes. He was shortly afterwards appointed preceptor to prince John, whom, in 1185, he accompanied into Ireland in the capacity of secretary. During his stay there, two Irish bishoprics were offered to him, but he declined them, as he tells us, on account of the corruptions

* De Gestis, lib. ii. c. 5 to 7.

† De Gestis, lib. ii. c. 8, 9.

and disorders which he observed in the Irish church. In the middle of Lent 1186, he delivered a public oration or sermon before the council in Dublin, in which he spoke on this subject with great freedom, but its only result was to establish in that country his fame as an eloquent preacher.*

While in Ireland Giraldus occupied himself diligently in collecting materials for a description of the country, and he remained there to complete his collections some time after the departure of prince John. Soon after the Easter of 1186 he returned to Wales, and he devoted the remainder of that year to the composition of his Topography of Ireland, which was completed in 1187. This book is divided into three parts or distinctions *(distinctiones)*, a term which seems to have been fashionable in his time, as it is used by several other writers. These three parts, as soon as completed, Giraldus recited before a public audience of the university of Oxford, on three successive days, and on each day he gave a sumptuous feast; on the first he entertained the poor people of the town, on the second the doctors and students of greatest celebrity, and on the third the other scholars and the burghers and soldiers of the place. He relates his doings on this occasion with much self-complacency, says that they were worthy of the classic ages of the poets of antiquity, and asserts that nothing like them had ever been witnessed in England.†

* De Gestis, lib. ii. c. 14. It appears that one of his charges against the Irish church was that it had had no martyrs; and that the bishop of Cashell, who happened to be present, replied that this was true, for the native Irish were too pious to make martyrs of their clergy, but that a people had now come to settle in Ireland who not only knew how to make martyrs, but who put their knowledge into practice. Topog. Hibern. distinct. iii. c. 32.

† Sumptuosa quidem res et nobilis, quia renovata sunt quodammodo autentica et antiqua in hoc facto poetarum tempora, nec rem similem in Anglia factam vel præsens ætas vel ulla recolit antiquitas. De Gestis, lib. ii. c. 16.

The fame of this ostentatious exhibition increased the celebrity of Giraldus, and he continued to enjoy the royal favour. When in the latter part of the year 1187, on receiving intelligence of the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, king Henry proclaimed a new crusade, and archbishop Baldwin was sent to preach it to the Welsh, he was accompanied by Giraldus, who represents his own eloquence as one of the main causes of their success.* They were attended by Ranulph de Glanville, as far as Hereford, from whence the archbishop and the archdeacon proceeded to Radnor, where they arrived on Ash Wednesday, 1188.† Thence they passed through Hay and Brecknock, by Lanthony, to Abergavenny and Caerleon, and thence to Cardiff, Llandaff, Caermarthen, and to Haverfordwest. Here Giraldus assures us that the effects of his own eloquence were almost miraculous, for, although the only languages he made use of were Latin and French, of which the greater portion of his auditors were totally ignorant, yet they were so much affected by his discourse that even the most illiterate of the multitude burst into tears, and they hurried in crowds to take the cross.‡ The archbishop afterwards said that he never saw so many tears shed in one day as he had witnessed on this occasion at Haverford.§ The missionaries, after visiting Pembroke, proceeded to St. David's, and thence

* The account of this expedition is given in the book De Gestis, lib. ii. c. 17, 18, and in the Itinerarium Cambriæ.

† Itiner. Cambr. lib. i. c. 1.

‡ Ubi pro mirando et quasi pro miraculo ducebatur a multis, quod ad verbum Domini ab archidiacono prolatum, cum tamen lingua Latina et Gallica loqueretur, non minus illi qui neutram noverunt linguam, quam alii, ad lacrimarum affluentiam moti fuerunt, atque etiam ad crucis signaculum catervatim accurrerunt. Itiner. Cambr. lib. i. c. 11. Conf. De Gestis, lib. ii, c. 18.

§ Unde et archiepiscopus pluries in illo itinere dicebat nusquam se tot lacrimas quantas apud Haverfordiam viderat uno die vidisse. De Gestis, lib. ii. c. 18.

through Cardigan, Caernarvon, and Bangor, to the isle of Anglesey, and then returned to England through the wilds of Snowdon, and by Rhuddlan to Chester, from whence they proceeded into Powisland, and passed along the border through Shrewsbury, Wenlock, and Leominster to Hereford, the point from which they first entered Wales. Giraldus informs us that during their progress they enlisted for the crusade about three thousand Welshmen.

In 1189, Giraldus, with archbishop Baldwin and Ranulph de Glanville, accompanied the king on his last expedition into France,* and the archdeacon appears to have been present at Henry's death at Fontevralt. He was immediately sent by earl Richard to England with letters to the grand justiciary (Ranulph de Glanville), and from thence into Wales to pacify his countrymen, who had shown an inclination to rebel on hearing of the king's decease. Giraldus enjoyed the confidence and esteem of the new king, but his zeal for the crusade appears to have cooled, for, when the time of the king's departure approached, he and the bishop of St. David's, who had both taken the vow, obtained absolution on the plea of age and poverty; which was only granted on the condition that they should repair the cathedral church of St. David's, and assist the crusaders with all the means in their power. When king Richard left England, he showed the estimation in which he held Giraldus, by appointing him a coadjutor with William de Longchamp bishop of Ely in the administration of the kingdom during his absence. Giraldus now began to hope that the high preferment withheld by king Henry would be conferred upon him by his successor, and he successively refused the bishopric of Bangor in 1190, and that of Llandaff in 1191, fearing,

* De Gestis, lib. ii. c. 21.

as it appears, that these might stand in the way of something better. But he was again disappointed in his expectations, and in disgust he determined to quit the court, and indulge his taste for literary retirement. For this purpose he had prepared to return to Paris; but, being prevented by the sudden breaking out of war between the two countries, he went to Lincoln and there devoted himself to study under the chancellor of that diocese, William du Mont *(De Monte)*, an eminent scholar whom he had known in his earlier years at Paris.* During his residence at Lincoln, Giraldus wrote several of his books, one of the first of which was his life of Geoffrey archbishop of York, published in 1193. In 1197 he wrote the work entitled *Gemma ecclesiastica.*

In 1198, Peter de Leia bishop of St. David's died, and a new prospect was opened to Giraldus of obtaining what appears to have been long the object of his ambition—the vacant bishopric. He was elected by the chapter early in 1199; but the archbishop of Canterbury, alleging the same reasons as had formerly been given by king Henry, refused to accept the nomination. In the midst of this dispute king Richard died, and his successor John, although he seemed at first inclined to favour the choice of the canons, allowed himself to be persuaded by the arguments of his primate. Giraldus again left the court in vexation, paid a visit of three weeks to Ireland, and then repaired to St. David's. The chapter, compelled to proceed to a new election, again chose him for their pastor. The pertinacity of the canons involved them in a violent quarrel with the king, and Giraldus proceeded to Rome to plead their cause before the sovereign pontiff. He arrived there on the 30th of November, and was received

* De Gestis, lib. iii. c. 3.

by the pope with marks of personal esteem. In the May of the year 1200, being appointed administrator of the temporal and spiritual concerns of the church of St. David's during the continuation of the disputes, he revisited his native land, but in the middle of Lent 1201 he was again at Rome. He returned to England in the summer of the same year, and was occupied with litigations at home until the second of November, when he started a third time for Rome, and arrived there on the 4th of January, 1202. On the 15th of April, 1203, the pope gave his definitive sentence, annulling the election of Giraldus. This controversy had excited much contentious feeling in Wales; the clergy of St. David's, supported by the princes of North and South Wales, treated Giraldus as their bishop elect, and he seems to have taken that title himself, which exposed him to the anger of king John, who proclaimed him an enemy to the crown, accused him of a design to stir up the Welsh to rebellion, and seized upon his lands.*

In the August of 1203, Giraldus returned to England, and made his peace with the court; and on the 10th of November Geoffrey de Henelawe was elected bishop of St. David's. Giraldus resigned his archdeaconry in favour of one of his nephews, retaining his other preferments, for he was a canon of Hereford and rector of Chesterton in Oxfordshire. The rest of his life was spent almost entirely in writing books, and in correcting those which he had already published. In 1204 and 1205, he wrote the Description of Wales, the *Symbolum Electorum*, the *Speculum duorum*, the *Invectiones*, the legend of St. Remigius, and the book *De gestis suis*. In 1215, the see of St. David's, the source of all his troubles, being again

* The account of this controversy is given at some length in the work *De Gestis suis*, lib. iii. c. 4, et seqq.

vacant, was offered to him, but under circumstances which made him unwilling to accept it. In 1218, he wrote his dialogues on the rights of the church of St. David's. In 1220, he finished two of his most important works, the treatise *De Principis Instructione* and the *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, and revised a second edition of the dialogues on the rights of the church of St. David's. From a document quoted by Tanner, we learn that in 1223 the church of Chesterton in Oxfordshire was vacant "by the death of master G. de Barri," so that he died either in that year or towards the end of the year preceding. He was buried in the cathedral of St. David's, where his monument is still preserved.

The works of Giraldus Cambrensis are numerous, and they are all interesting for the light they throw on the historical events and on the political and religious condition of the age in which he lived. They are not the meditations of the solitary student, or the controversial disquisitions of the theologian; but they reflect faithfully the thoughts and opinions of a man busy in all the intrigues and convulsions of the world around him, and are filled with minute and private anecdotes and stories of the people among whom he lived and with whom he acted. His style, though less ostentatiously learned than that of Peter of Blois, is that of a scholar and a man of extensive reading. His descriptions are generally marked by a clearness of narrative and a distinctness of conception which are not often found among the medieval writers; and, when he dwells on his own wrongs, or enters upon his own enmities, his style is distinguished by a warmth of eloquence which is peculiar to him. Though a bitter enemy of the monks, more particularly of the Cistercian order, and unsparing in his remarks on the avarice and corruption of the court of Rome, he appears throughout

his writings credulous and superstitious. He occupies no small portion of the narrative of his own actions in recounting his dreams, and his descriptions of Wales and Ireland are thickly interspersed, not only with monkish legends, but with fairy tales, which renders him a valuable authority for the earlier history of our popular mythology. The account of the beavers which then frequented the river Tivy, in the neighbourhood of Cardigan, taken from the Itinerary of Wales, may be given as a fair specimen of his descriptive language.

Inter universos namque Cambriæ seu etiam Loegriæ fluvios, solus hic castores habet. In Albania quippe, ut fertur, fluvio similiter unico habentur, sed rari. De cujus bestiæ natura, qualiter a sylvis ad aquas materiam vehant, quanto artificio ex attracta materia mediis in fluctibus munimenta connectant, quam defensionis artem contra venatores in occidente prætendant, quam in oriente, de caudis quoque pisceis pauca interserere non inutile reputavi.

Castores enim, ut castra sibi in mediis fluviis construant, sui generis servis pro rheda utentes, a silvis ad aquas lignea robora miro vecturæ modo contrahunt et conducunt. Quidam enim ex his naturæ imperio servire parati, ligna ab aliis præcisa ventrique supino imposita quatuor pedibus complectentes, lignoque in ore ex transverso locato, dentibus ab aliis hinc inde cohærentibus, retrogradeque trahentibus, non absque intuentium admiratione simul cum oneribus attrahuntur. Simili quoque naturæ artificio in scrobium purgatione, quas sibi pedibus in terram fodiendo scalpendoque conformant, melotæ utuntur. In aliquo vero profundissimo fluvii angulo et pacifico, in castrorum constructione tanto artificio ligna connectunt, ut ne aquæ stilla de facili penetrando subintret, nec procellæ vis labefactando concutiat, nec violentiam quamlibet præter humanam, et hanc ferro munitam, reformident. Ex salicum etiam ramis in castrorum constructione ligna connectunt, soliisque variis in altum quantum aqua excrescere solet, et ultra ostiis interius a solio in solium aptatis, machinam distinguunt, ut juxta fluminis incrementa fluctuantes undas (cum voluerint) ab alto despicere valeant. Ex salicibus autem, ut per annos crescendo salicum saltus, hispidum exterius silvescat arbustum tota interius arte latente . . . . . Notandum quoque quod castores caudas habent latas, et non longas, in modum palmæ humanæ spissas, quibus tanquam pro remigio natando funguntur, cumque totum corpus reliquum pilosum habeant, hanc partem omni pilositate carentem in morem phocæ marinæ planam habent et levigatam ; unde et in Germania Arctoisque regionibus, ubi abundant *bevers*, caudis hujusmodi, piscium ut aiunt naturam tam sapore quam colore sortitis, viri etiam magni et religiosi jejuniorum tem-

pore pro pisce vescuntur. Videtur tamen, quod juris in toto quoad totum, hoc in parte quoad partem, nec pars a toto tanta generis diversitate distare consuevit.

As a historian, Giraldus manifests continually the strong bias of his personal feelings; and his praise and dispraise, expressed with equal warmth, must be taken with caution. His resentment against king Henry II. and his family appears constantly in his later writings, and this feeling seems to have become more intense as he advanced in years. In one of the works of his old age, the treatise *De institutione principis*, he speaks as follows of the monarch whom Peter of Blois and others regarded as a pattern of wisdom and magnanimity.

In primis etenim Francorum reginam Alienoram domino suo Ludovico Francorum regi, sicut satis est notum, indebite subtraxit, sibique de facto conjugali vinculo copulavit: ex qua et prolem prædictam processu temporis omine infausto suscepit, per quam, ut diximus, ob hoc et alia delicta gravissima, quorum quædam subsequenter enumerabimus, eum Dominus, quia vexatis dabit intellectum, humiliari voluit et ad pœnitentiam revocari, vel si obstinatus inventus fuerit, prole propria patrem plecti et carne carnificem cruciari. Fuerat enim et ab initio et usque ad finem nobilitatis oppressor, jus et injuriam fasque nefasque pro commodo pensans, justitiæ venditor et dilator, verbo varius et versutus, nec solum verbi verum etiam fidei transgressor et sacramenti; adulter publicus, Deoque ingratus et indevotus, ecclesiæ malleus et filius in perniciem natus: unde et ad cumulum quoque nequitiæ perfidiæque, sicut pater ejusdem in beatum Gerardum Sagiensem antistitem suo tempore crudiliter desiit, sic et iste longeque crudelius sua commaculans tempora, in gloriosum martyrem nostrum Thomam Cantuariensem archipræsulem, in malo patrizans, desævire præsumpsit.

We have some remains of the Latin poetry of Giraldus, which consisted chiefly of epigrams and short pieces. The earliest of his compositions was a treatise on chronography and cosmography in Latin elegiacs, which appears to be lost. The second part of the *Symbolum electorum*, a collection of miscellaneous pieces, dedicated to king Richard, is in Latin verse. In the following lines addressed to Henry II., extracted from this book, we observe none of the

bitterness of feeling which characterises the passage in prose quoted above. Our extract is taken from a manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge, marked O. 10. 16.

Ad Anglorum regem Henricum secundum.

Mens tibi scribendo desudat, corpus agendo,
  Certant obsequiis illud et illa suis.
Sed neque discursus varios neque carmina curas,
  Hinc opus hinc operam cura laborque perit.
Res pereunt abeuntque dies, tu damna dierum
  Non reparas quanquam res reparare queas.
Sed quod nec rerum nec te jactura dierum
  Movet, me gravius hoc movet ac removet.
Survivit tibi totus homo, cui sola laboris
  Crux pretium fateor, præmia magna crucem.
Serviat ergo cruci cruce vir signatus, eique
  Reddere qui solus resque diesque potest.
Cujus nec claudi scit janua nec reserari
  Indigne, lucri nescia sed meriti.
Cui nihil extorsit aut improbus aut simulator,
  Cui virtus minime vel taciturna vacat.
Cui neque palpo procax nec vir linguosus adhæsit,
  Cui neque vir duplex displicuisse nequit.
Qui me detraxit virtuti livor, apud quem
  Quilibet ex merito statve caditve suo.
Qui meritum pensat, qui dignis digna rependit,
  Librans et moderans pondere cuncta suo.
Qui cum spondet adest, qui cum largitur abunde,
  Dat sine defectu rem, sine nocte diem.

The following epigrams, from the same book and manuscript, and equally inedited, will serve as specimens of the Latin poetry both of Giraldus and of his friend Walter Mapes:—

De baculo cui caput natura curvaverat, pedem ars armaverat, Mapo transmissus.

Versibus ornatum bis senis accipe munus,
  Et de tot gemmis elege, Mape, duos.
Dat camerum natura caput, finemque fabrilis;
  Ars facit armatum, fabrica fessa levat.
Ars nodum, natura modum, firmans in acumen,
  Ferri descendunt fessaque membra regunt;
Artis figmentum firmans natura recurvum
  Apponit recto, dat faber arma pedi.

Artis opus geminat, juvit natura, senique
Prodiit hinc podium fessa focosque juvans.
Me duo componunt ars et natura, seniles
Artus sustineo, fessa focosque rego:
Pes ego decrepitis, offensis virga, levamen
Fessis, obscuris orbita, furca focis.

Responsio.

Versibus imparibus respondet amicus amico,
Bis senis totidem reddit agitque vices.
Munus amicus amat, et munera laudat amici,
Muneris at laudes laudat amatque magis.
Qualibet ergo probans baculi plus approbo laudes,
Et versus laudo versibus arte minor.
Hos dum specto places, illos dum specto places bis,
Specto hos atque illos terque quaterque places.
Præcipui primi sunt, præcipuique secundi,
Sic qui præcedunt quique sequentur erunt.
Eligo sic igitur cunctos, et præfero nullos,
Extollens titulis singula quæque suis.

Giraldus has left us a list of his own works, compiled after the completion of the treatise *De instructione principis,* and therefore at the time when he had nearly ended his literary labours. Most of these works are preserved, and they all merit publication. They are,—

1. The chronography and cosmography, in Latin hexameters and pentameters, written, as he informs us, in his earlier years, and in some parts "following the doctrines of the philosophers more than those of the theologians."* No work answering to this description is now known.

2. The *Topographia Hiberniæ,* in three books, dedicated to king Henry II. The first book describes the island, and the animals peculiar to it; the second treats of the wonders of Ireland, its stormy seas, extraordinary islands, fountains, and lakes, with a multitude of strange legends and pretended miracles; the third, of the first peopling of the island and its earlier history, of the

* Plus philosophicum quam theologicum nonnullis in locis dogma secuta.

manners and vices of its inhabitants, and of the state of the church, with the history of its kings down to the invasion of the Northmen.

3. The *Expugnatio Hiberniæ, sive Historia Vaticinalis,* in one book, a narrative of the conquest of Ireland by the Normans, forming a sequel to the preceding work.

4. Legends of Saints. These include the lives of St. David, St. Caradoc, St. Ethelbert the martyr, St. Remigius the first bishop of Lincoln, and St. Hugh bishop of the same see. Some of these lives have been printed in Wharton's Anglia Sacra; those of Hugh and Caradoc appear to be lost; that of St. Ethelbert is preserved in a manuscript in the Cottonian Library, Vitellius E. VII.

5. The life of Geoffrey archbishop of York, also printed by Wharton. It was compiled in 1193.

6. The *Symbolum Electorum,* a small collection of letters and verses, distributed into two books, the first book in prose, the second in verse. A copy of this work is preserved in a manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, mentioned above; and there appears to be another copy or portion of it in the Bodleian Library.

7. A work entitled *Liber Invectionum,* which seems to have been an attack upon the enemies who conducted the accusations against him in the court of Rome.

8. *Speculum duorum commonitorium et consolatorium,* which appears to have been of the same character as the preceding. Neither of these books are now known to exist.

9. The *Gemma Ecclesiastica,* in two parts, the first containing instructions for the clergy, relating to the observation of the "greater and more necessary sacraments,"* and the second on the decency and continence

* De cleri circa sacramenta majora magisque necessaria instructione.

of the clerical orders. This work is preserved in manuscript.

10. The Itinerary of Cambria, in two books, dedicated to Stephen archbishop of Canterbury.

11. The *Topographia Cambriæ,* also in two books, the first only of which, containing the description of Wales, or *De Laudabilibus Cambriæ,* was printed in the early editions. The second, entitled *De Illaudabilibus Walliæ,* was first printed in the Anglia Sacra. The first edition of this work was dedicated to Hugh bishop of Lincoln, but an enlarged edition was subsequently dedicated, like the Itinerary, to Stephen archbishop of Canterbury. At the end of the second book is a shorter list of the works of Giraldus, with his *retractationes.* He informs us that he compiled a map of Wales to accompany this work.* Such a map is described by Tanner as preceding the *Topographia Cambriæ* in "the Library at Westminster." (*in Bibl. Westmonast.*)

12. A treatise, *De fidei fructu fideique defectu,* which is lost.

13. The treatise *De principis instructione,* which has been printed with considerable omissions in the French collection of Historians commenced by Dom. Bouquet. It was written at the time when the English barons called over prince Louis to assist them against king John, and its grand object appears to be to extol the virtues and piety of the reigning house of France at the expense of Henry II. and his sons, who are spoken of in terms of the

* Porro circiter id ipsum temporis, quo Cambriæ descriptionem stylo perstrinximus, Mappam ejusdem expressam, quatenus et natale solum non tantum literis, sed etiam protractionibus quibusdam, et quasi picturis variis, non incompetentibus aut indecentibus, nostra foret ad unguem opera declaratum, brevi in loculo arctoque folio loca quam plurima complectentes, eademque tum dilucide satis et distincte disponentes, non absque studioso labore propalavimus.

greatest abhorrence. It is divided into three distinctions or books.

14. The narrative *De gestis Giraldi laboriosis,* a history of his own life, and especially of his troubles in relation to the see of St. David's, in three books. The only copy known is preserved in the Cottonian MS. Tiberius B. XIII., from which it was printed by Wharton, but which is unfortunately mutilated of a very large portion, although the table of contents of the whole is preserved.

15. Dialogues *de jure et statu Menevensis ecclesiæ,* in seven distinctions, printed in the Anglia Sacra.

16. The above complete Giraldus's own list, but we must add to them the *Speculum Ecclesiæ,* one of the latest and most remarkable of his literary productions. It is divided into four distinctions or books, of which the first three contain a long and bitter attack on the corruptions of the monks, full of scandalous anecdotes, and the fourth book is devoted to a consideration of the state of the court and church of Rome. The only copy known of this work is contained in the Cottonian Library (MS. Cotton. Tiber. B XIII.), and is unfortunately much mutilated by the fire which endangered the existence of that valuable collection. This work has not been printed.

The old bibliographers add many titles to this list, but they are apparently mere errors and misappropriations of the works of others. In the *Topographia Hiberniæ,* Giraldus refers to his metrical treatise *De philosophicis flosculis,** which perhaps was nothing more than the *chronographia et cosmographia* mentioned above. It appears that he intended to publish Topographies or descriptions

* In libello tamen quem de philosophicis flosculis metrice conscripsimus, dilucida brevitate sunt hæc explanata. Topogr. Hibern. Distinc. iii. c. 3.

of England,* and of Scotland,† but we can discover no reason for believing that he ever put this design into execution. No such works are now in existence.

Editions.

Itinerarium Cambriæ: seu laboriosæ Balduini Cantuar. archiepiscopi per Walliam legationis, accurata descriptio, auctore Sil. Giraldo Cambrense. Cum annotationibus Davidis Poveli sacræ theologiæ professoris. Londini, 1585. 8vo. Joined with Ponticus Virunnius.

Anglica, Normannica, Cambrica, a veteribus scripta: . . . . Plerique nunc primum in lucem editi ex bibliotheca Gulielmi Camdeni. Francofurti, 1603. fol. pp. 692—754. Topographia Hiberniæ; sive de Mirabilibus Hiberniæ, authore Silvestro Giraldo Cambrense.—Pp. 755—813. Expugnatio Hiberniæ, sive Historia vaticinalis Silvestris Giraldi Cambrensis.—Pp. 818—878. Itinerarium Cambriæ.—Pp. 879—891. Cambriæ Descriptio, auctore Sil. Giraldo Cambrense.

Anglia Sacra . . . Pars Secunda. Londini, 1691. fol. pp. 351—354, Vita Hugonis Nonant, Episcopi Coventrensis et Lichfeldensis, ex Giraldi Cambrensis Speculo Ecclesiæ. Pp. 373—640, Giraldi Cambrensis, archidiaconi et episcopi electi Menevensis, Vita Galfridi archiepiscopi Eboracensis. Vitæ episcoporum Lincolniensium. Vitæ sex episcoporum coætaneorum. Epistola ad Stephanum Langton archiepiscopum Cantuariensem. De libris a se scriptis. De Descriptione Walliæ, liber secundus. Retractationes. De rebus a se gestis libri III. De jure et statu Menevensis Ecclesiæ Distinctiones VII. Vita S. Davidis archiepiscopi Menevensis.

Itinerarium Cambriæ seu laboriosæ Baldvini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi per Walliam legationis accurata descriptio, auctore Silv. Giraldo Cambrense. Cum Annotationibus Davidis Poweli. Londini, 1806. 4to.

Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, tome dix-huitième. A Paris, 1822, fol. pp. 121—163. Ex Silvestris Giraldi Cambrensis de Instructione Principis libris tribus.

Translation.

The Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales, A.D. MCDXXXVIII. by Giraldus de Barri; translated into English, and illustrated with views, annotations, and a life of Giraldus, by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. F.R.S. F.S.A. London, 1806. 2 vols. 4to.

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* Donec . . . Cambriæ quam præ manibus habemus descriptio et Brytannica Topographia in publicam notitiam emanaverint. Præf. prin. in Cambr. Descrip. Cum notabilem illam Brittanniæ Topographiam enucleatius expedietur. Topogr. Hibern. Distinc. iii., c. 21.

† Cum de utriusque terræ, Gwalliæ scilicet et Scotiæ situ et proprietate, deque utriusque gentis origine et natura tractabimus, plenius explicabitur. Topogr. Hibern. Distinc. i., c. 21.

GEOFFREY DE VINSAUF.

We know little more of the personal history of Geoffrey de Vinsauf *(Galfridus de Vinosalvo)* than that he was an Englishman, and that he appears to have resided for some time in Italy, and to have enjoyed the favour of pope Innocent III. He is frequently called *Galfridus Anglicus*. Gale has supposed him to be the same person as Walter de Constantiis,* but without any sufficient grounds. Geoffrey de Vinsauf is known as the author of a metrical treatise in Latin on the art of poetry, which generally bears the title of *Nova Poetria*, and the extensive popularity of which during the ages which followed its publication is evinced by the great number of copies still extant in manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is however a heavy tiresome poem, and is only interesting as being the key to the general style of the Latin poetical writers of the thirteenth century, which was formed on the rules given in this work. A writer of the beginning of the fifteenth century seems to intimate that Geoffrey had been sent to Rome on a mission from King Richard I.†

The *Nova Poetria* is dedicated to pope Innocent, the author's patron, and commences with an exaggerated encomium of that pontiff. We may perhaps conclude from

* Gale's Scriptores, vol ii. prolog.

† John of Bamborough, subprior of Tynmouth, who wrote an "Argument" to this book in 1438, in which it is stated—Causa efficiens [hujus operis] est magister Galfridus Anglicus; causa finalis communis est et privata; communis est instruere lectorem in rhetorica, privata negotium Ricardi regis Angliæ, qui culpa nobis ignota papam offenderat.—Tanner.

the following lines of the dedication that it was written at Rome:—

—— Me transtulit Anglia Romam,
Tanquam de terris ad cœlum. Transtulit ad vos,
De tenebris velut ad lucem.

The poem, or rather treatise, opens with some general observations and rules for poetical composition.

Si quis habet fundare domum, non currat ad actum
Impetuosa manus; intrinseca linea cordis
Præmetitur opus, seriemque sub ordine certo
Interior præscribit homo, totamque figurat
Ante manus cordis, quam corporis et status ejus,
Et prius archetypus, quam sensilis. Ipsa poesis
Spectat in hoc speculo; quæ lex sit danda poetis.
Non manus ad calamum præceps, non lingua sit ardens
Ad verbum: neutram manibus committe regendam
Fortunæ, sed mens discreta præambula facti,
Ut melius fortunet opus, suspendat earum
Officium, tractetque diu de themate secum.
Circinus interior mentis præcircinet omne
Materiæ spatium. Certus præliminet ordo,
Unde præarripiat cursum stilus, aut ubi gades
Figat. Opus totum prudens in pectoris arcem
Contrahe, sitque prius in pectore quam sit in ore.

These lines are a fair specimen of Geoffrey's style. The following chapters treat in succession of the distribution of the work; of the ordering and arrangement of it; of the exordium; and of the method of treating the subject, and the different ways of amplification, which was looked upon as the most important branch of the art, and occupies a large portion of this metrical treatise.

—— Si vis bene duci,
Te certo committe duci. Subscripta revolve.
Ipsa stilum ducent, et utrimque decentia dicent.
Formula materiæ, quasi quædam formula ceræ,
Primitus est duri tactus. Si sedula cura
Igniat ingenium, subito mollescit ad ignem
Ingenii, sequiturque manum quocunque vocarit,
Ductilis ad quicquid hominis manus interioris
Ducit, amplificet, vel curtet, si facis amplum.

The rules and examples are sometimes good, but they

are as often in bad taste, and well calculated to produce the inflated and meretricious style of writing which too often distinguished the writers of the succeeding age. Some of the examples refer to the historical events of the time, as in the famous lamentation for the death of king Richard, who received his wound on a Friday, which day is thus apostrophised,—

O Veneris lacrimosa dies! o sidus amarum!
Illa dies tua nox fuit, et Venus illa venenum.
Illa dedit vulnus. Sed pessimus illa dierum
Primus ab undeno, qui vitæ vitricus, ipsum
Clausit. Uterque dies homicida tyrannide mira
Trajecit clausus exclusum, tectus apertum,
Providus incautum, miles munitus inermem,
Et proprium regem. Quid miles? perfide miles!
Perfidiæ miles, pudor orbis, et unica sordes
Militiæ, miles manuum factura suarum.
Ausus es hoc in eum scelus? hoc scelus? istud es ausus?
O dolor! O plus quam dolor! O mors! O truculenta
Mors! Esses utinam mors mortua. Quid meministi
Ausa nefas tantum? Placuit tibi, tollere solem
Et tenebris tenebrare solum. Scis quem rapuisti?
Ipse fuit jubar in oculis, et dulcor in aure,
Et stupor in mente. Scis impia quem rapuisti?
Ipse fuit dominus armorum, gloria regum,
Delitiæ mundi. Nil addere noverat ultra,
Ipse fuit quicquid potuit, natura. Sed istud
Causa fuit, quare rapuisti. Res pretiosas
Eligis, et viles quasi dedignata relinquis.

There is keen satire in Chaucer's allusion to this overstrained affectation of grief,—

O Gaufride, dere maister soverain,
That, whan thy worthy king Richard was slain
With shot, complainedest his deth so sore,
Why ne had I now thy science and thy lore,
The Friday for to chiden, as did ye?
(For on a Friday sothly slain was he)
Than wold I shew you how that I coud plaine
For Chauntecleres drede and for his paine.

Cant. T. l. 15,353.

The following may be taken as another example of the

beauties of style which found favour in the rhetorical school represented by Geoffrey de Vinsauf:—

> Vel si dicamus de tempore navibus apto:—
> Non objurgat aquas aquilo, nec inebriat auster
> Aera; sed solis radius, quasi scopa lutosi
> Aeris, emundat cœlum, vultuque sereno
> Tempus adulatur pelago; clandestina flatus
> Murmura stare freta faciunt, et currere vela.

After explaining at length all the beauties, and warning against what were then considered the vices, of composition, the *Nova Poetria* concludes with three epilogues, the first of which is another extravagant, we might even say impious, address to the pope,—

> Jam mare transcurri, gades in littore fixi,
> Et mihi te portum statuo, qui, maxima rerum,
> Nec Deus es, nec homo, quasi neuter es inter utrumque,
> Quem Deus elegit socium. Socialiter egit
> Tecum partitus mundum. Sibi noluit unus
> Omnia, sed voluit tibi terras, et sibi cœlum.
> Quid potuit melius? quid majus? cui meliori?
> Vel cui majori? Dico minus. Imo vel æque
> Magno, vel simili.

The second epilogue is addressed to the emperor, and is a petition for the liberation of king Richard, so that we may suppose the book to have been originally composed in 1193, although not published till after Richard's death. This epilogue commences with the lines,—

> Imperialis apex, cui servit poplite flexo
> Roma caput mundi.

The third epilogue is addressed to an archbishop named William, whom some have supposed to have been no other than William de Longchamp bishop of Ely. This, however, appears to be a mere conjecture without foundation. It begins with the words,—

> Quod papæ scripsi munus speciale libelli
> Accipe, flos regni.

The old bibliographers make separate works of these epilogues, as well as of some portions of the *Nova Poetria*. They also make Geoffrey de Vinsauf the author of a poem against the corruptions of the church, printed by Flacius Illyricus under the title *Gaufredus de statu curiæ Romanæ et de ejus ironica recommendatione*, which, however, carries internal evidence of having been written as late as the middle of the thirteenth century. Other poems have been attributed to this writer, but it seems most probable that the *Nova Poetria* is the only work known of which he was the author. Leland found the name "Galfridus Vinesave" inscribed on the last page of a treatise *De rebus ethicis*, which was probably only a copy of the well-known poem entitled *Florilegus*.

Gale has published under the name of Geoffrey de Vinsauf the *Itinerarium Ricardi Anglorum regis in Terram Sanctum*, which appears to belong more justly to Richard the Canon.

Editions.

An edition is said to have been printed at Vienna, apud Wolfangum Lazium.

Polycarpi Leyseri Historia Poetarum et Poematum Medii Ævi decem, post annum a nato Christo cccc, seculorum. Halæ Magdeb. 1721. 8vo. pp. 861—978. Galfridi de Vino Salvo Poetria Nova.

Galfridi de Vinosalvo Ars Poetica ante quingentos annos conscripta . . . edita . . . a Polycarpo Leyser. Helmstadii, anno MDCCXXIV. 8vo.

JOSEPH OF EXETER.

The best of our medieval Anglo-Latin poets was Joseph of Exeter, who, fortunately, wrote before the poetical rules of Geoffrey de Vinsauf were established in the schools. Leland learnt from one of his lost books that Joseph was a native of Exeter; his patron was archbishop Baldwin, to whom he dedicates his poem *De Bello Trojano*,

which was finished when Henry II. was preparing for the crusade. Camden, who had the Antiocheïs before him, states that Joseph accompanied king Richard to Syria. We know nothing of the time of his death; Bale's statement that he flourished in 1210 is a mere guess, and the supposition of Leland that he died in the reign of Henry III. arose from a mistake of the following passage of the poem of the Trojan War, in which the third Henry, here compared with Hector, is the son of Henry II., crowned as Henry III. during his father's life, who died prematurely in 1184.

> Tantus in Hectoreas audax decreverat iras
> Tertius Henricus noster, quo rege Britannus
> Major, quo duce Normannus, quo Francus alumno
> Risit, et in bellis gens martia nacta priorem
> Non illi invidit Bellonam, ut Pallada nobis.

Many parts of Joseph's poem, in five books, on the Trojan War, approach so near the pure taste of the classic ages, that it was printed at first, and passed through some editions, under the name of Cornelius Nepos, until the collation of more perfect manuscripts restored it to its right author. Yet it seems to have been so little appreciated at the time it was written that it is not alluded to in any of the books of the succeeding age, and it occurs very rarely in manuscripts. Warton * and Leland † have pointed out some of the best passages of this poem, which opens with the following elegant exordium:—

> Iliadum lacrymas, concessaque Pergama fatis,
> Prælia bina ducum, bis adactam cladibus urbem
> In cineres, querimur; flemusque quod Herculis ira,
> Hesiones raptus, Helenæ fuga, fregerit arcem,
> Impulerit Phrygios, Danaas exciverit urbes.

* History of English Poetry, vol. i. pp. cxxvii—cxxxii. ed. 1840.
† Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, p. 236.

Joseph dedicates his work to archbishop Baldwin, in the following no less finished lines, which were much mutilated in the early printed editions, and are defective in the latest reprints.

Mira quidem dictu, sed vera, advertite, pandam.
Nam vati Phrygio Martem certissimus index
Explicuit præsens oculus, quem fabula nescit.
Hunc ubi combiberit avidæ spes ardua mentis,
Quos superos in vota vocem? mens conscia veri
Proscripsit longe ludentem ficta poetam;
Quin te Cecropii mentita licentia pagi,
Et lædant figmenta, pater, quo præside floret
Cantia, et in priscas respirat libera leges.
In numerum jam crescit honos; te tertia poscit
Infula; jam meminit Wigornia, Cantia discit,
Romanus meditatur apex; et naufraga Petri
Ductorem in mediis expectat cymba procellis.
In tamen occiduo degis contentus ovili,
Tertius a Thoma, Thomasque secundus et alter;
Sol oriens, rebus successor, moribus hæres.
Felices quos non trahit ambitus! ardua nactus
Non in se descendit honos; non cæca potestas
Quid possit fortuna videt: non perfida sentit
Prosperitas, flevisse humilem, qui ridet in altis.
Parcite, venales quisquis venatur honores,
Unde ruat tabulata struit. Fremit ultio noxas
Tunc gravior, quum tarda venit: tunc plena timoris,
Quum terrore caret: blanda nil sævius ira,
Quum floret miseri felix injuria voti.
At tu dissimilis longe, cui fronte serena
Sanguinis egregii lucrum, pacemque litata
Emptam anima pater ille pius, summumque cacumen
In curam venisse velit, cui cederit ipse
Prorsus, vel proprias lætus sociaret habenas.
Hactenus hæc, tuque oro tuo da, maxime, vati
Ire iter inceptum, Trojamque aperire jacentem:
Te sacræ assument acies, divinaque bella,
Tunc dignum majore tuba, tunc pectore toto
Nitar et immensum mecum spargere per orbem.

Warton has remarked justly that the style of this poem is a mixture of Ovid, Statius, and Claudian, who in Joseph's time were the most popular writers of antiquity; and he

describes the diction as generally pure, the periods round, and the numbers harmonious. In matter, it is only a paraphrase of the fabulous history which was circulated during the middle ages under the name of Dares Phrygius. The last lines of the preceding extract are addressed to Henry II. who was at that time preparing to undertake a crusade against Saladin, and they are considered as implying a promise to make that expedition the subject of a future poem. The six books of the Trojan War were probably the labour of a considerable space of time; and at the end, as the passage is given by Leland, the poet promises more distinctly a future work, in the following lines—

——— Compendia veri
Et, si quando auctor rarus, tamen altera sacræ
Tendo fila lyræ plectro majore canenda.
Antiochi nunc bella vocant, nec dicere votum
Christicolas acies, et nostræ signa sibyllæ,
Quæ virtus, quæ dona crucis, nec fundit anhela
Hos mihi circa pedes animi fidentis hiatum,
Celsior et cœlo venit impleturus Apollo.
Tu quoque, magne pater, nostri fiducia cœpti,
Altera et in pelago pandes mihi vela secundo.
Hoc tibi ludet opus, succedet serior ætas,
Seria succedent aures meritura pudicas.
Si tuus in nostros candor consenserit ausus,
Haud metuam culicis stimulos fucive susurrum.

The *Antiocheïs* of Joseph of Exeter appears unfortunately to be lost. Leland, after long search, met with a mutilated copy among the dust of the monastic library of Abingdon.* Camden, who laments the entire loss of this work, has printed the only passage now known.† Warton informs us that "Mr. Wise, the late Radcliffe librarian, told me that a manuscript of the Antiocheis was in the library of the duke of Chandos at Canons." It appears, however, that neither of these manu-

* Cum excuterem pulverem et blattas Abandunensis bibliothecæ.
† In his Remains, p. 280.

scripts can be traced, and their fate is unknown. In the following lines—the fragment of this poem preserved by Camden—Joseph celebrates the heroes of the fabulous British history.

——— Inclyta fulsit
Posteritas ducibus tantis, tot dives alumnis,
Tot fœcunda viris, premerent qui viribus orbem
Et fama veteres. Hinc Constantinus adeptus
Imperium, Romam tenuit, Byzantion auxit.
Hinc Senonum ductor captiva Brennius urbe
Romuleas domuit flammis victricibus arces.
Hinc et Scæva satus, pars non obscura tumultus
Civilis, magnum solus qui mole soluta
Obsedit, meliorque stetit pro Cæsare murus.
Hinc celebri fato felici floruit ortu
Flos regum Arthurus, cujus tamen acta stupori
Non micuere minus: totus quod in aure voluptas,
Et populo plaudente favus. Quæcunque priorum
Inspice: Pellæum commendat fama tyrannum,
Pagina Cæsareos loquitur Romana triumphos;
Alciden domitis attollit gloria monstris;
Sed nec pinetum coryli, nec sydera solem
Æquant. Annales Graios Latiosque revolve,
Prisca parem nescit, æqualem postera nullum
Exhibitura dies. Reges supereminet omnes:
Solus præteritis melior, majorque futuris.

We know not on what authority Leland attributes to Joseph of Exeter epigrams, and love-verses (*Nugæ amatoriæ*). He is also pretended to have written in Latin verse *De institutione Cyri*, beginning with the words *Prælia bina ducum canimus;* but this is perhaps a mere fabrication, grounded on the second line of the exordium to the poem on the Trojan War.

Editions.

The first printed edition of the Poem de Bello Trojano appeared at Basil, 1541, 8vo. which was taken from a very bad manuscript.

Daretis Phrygii vetustissimi scriptoris de bello Trojano, in quo ipse militavit, libri sex, a Cornelio Nepote in Latinum sermonem conversi. Adjunximus Pindari Thebani Iliados Homeri Epitome, et Homeri Ilias a Nicolao Valla et Vincentio Obsopoeo politissimo carmine reddita. Basiliæ, 1558, 8vo.

Another edition was printed at the same place in 1583, fol. joined with the Iliad.

Daretis Phrygii Poetarum et Historicorum omnium primi de Bello Trojano libri sex, a Cornelio Nepote Latino carmine donati. Antverpiæ, 1608. 8vo.

Josephi Iscani poetæ elegantissimi de Bello Trojano libri sex, hactenus Cornelii Nepotis nomine aliquoties editi, nunc autori restituti, et notis explicati, quibus alii plurimi illustrantur, a Samuele Dresemio Dithmarso. Francofurti, 1620. 4to.

This edition was reprinted at the same place and in the same form in 1623.

Daretis Phrygii poetarum et historicorum omnium primi de Bello Trojano libri sex Latino carmine eleganter redditi a Cornelio Nepote. Mediolani, 1669. 12mo.

Daretis Phrygii de Bello Trojano lib. vi. Lat. carmine a Josepho Exoniensi redditi, recogniti ac emendati cura et studio J. Mori. Londini, 1675. 8vo.

Dictys Cretensis et Dares Phrygius de Bello et Excidio Trojæ, in usum serenissimi Delphini, cum interpretatione Annæ Daceriæ. Accedunt in hac nova editione Notæ Variorum integræ; nec non Josephus Iscanus, cum notis Sam. Dresemii. Amstelædami, 1702. 4to.

Dictys Cretensis et Dares Phrygius de Bello Trojano, ex editione Sam. Artopoei, cum notis et interpretatione in usum Delphini, variis lectt. notis varior. Accedunt Josephi Iscani de Bello Trojano libri vi. Londini, 1825. 8vo. 2 vols. (Valpy's edition).

WILLIAM OF NEWBURY.

One of the most valuable historians who flourished at this period was William of Newbury, a native of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, born, as he informs us, in the first year of the reign of king Stephen,* A.D. 1136, and educated in the monastery of Newbury, of which he became a canon. He is sometimes called *Gulielmus Parvus*.† According to Cave, he died in the year 1208. His patron was Roger, made abbot of the

* Cujus anno primo ego G. servorum Christi minimus . . . sum natus. Proem. in Hist. sub fine.

† Tanner, following Leland, places him under the head of *Petyt* [*Gulielmus*.]

neighbouring monastery of Byland in 1141, at whose request he compiled a commentary on the Song of Solomon, which was preserved in the library of Newbury in the time of Leland. At a more advanced age he undertook to write the history of his own times, of which several manuscripts have been preserved, and which has been repeatedly printed. In this work, which is certainly one of the best arranged histories produced at that period, William aspired with some success to rise above the ordinary chroniclers and annalists. In a preface of some length, he protests against the absurdity of the fabulous history of king Arthur, and the prophecies of Merlin, and treats very contemptuously the authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth. His own work is divided into five books, the first of which, after a brief notice of the Anglo-Norman history, includes the reign of Stephen; the second and third contain the history of the reign of Henry II., and the fourth and fifth are devoted to that of Richard I. down to the year 1197, at which date its author concludes his labours. The language of this writer is correct, and less characterised by rhetorical pretension than that of most of his contemporaries. His authority is especially valuable; and he has preserved many personal anecdotes and some curious popular legends. The following character of king Henry II. is drawn with evident fidelity, and may be compared with what other writers cited in the present volume have said of that monarch.

Sane idem rex et pluribus quæ personam ornant regiam fuisse noscitur virtutibus præditus, et quibusdam nihilominus vitiis obnoxius quæ christianum principem plurimum dedecorent. In libidinem pronior conjugalem modum excessit, formam quidem in hoc tenens avitam, sed tamen avo hujus intemperantiæ palmam reliquit. Regina pro tempore sufficienter usus ad sobolem, ea desinente parere, sectando voluptatem spurios fecit. Venationis delicias æque ut avus plus justo diligens, in puniendis tamen positarum pro feris legum transgressoribus avo mitior fuit. Ille enim, ut suo loco dictum est, homici-

darum et fericidarum in publicis animadversionibus nullum vel parvum esse voluit distantiam. Hic autem hujusmodi transgressores carcerali custodia sive exilio ad tempus coercuit. Gentem perfidam et Christianis inimicam, Judæos scilicet fœnerantes, propter largiora quæ ex eorum percipiebat fœnerationibus commoda, plus justo fovit; in tantum ut in Christianos protervi et cervicosi existerent, plurimaque eis gravamina irrogarent. In exquirendis pecuniis paulo immoderatior fuit; sed temporis sequentis supra modum excrescens malitia justificavit eum in hac parte, et decentem modum ab eo innuit esse servatum; excepto eo quod vacantes episcopatus, ut provenientia perciperet commoda, diu vacare voluit, et ecclesiasticis potius usibus applicanda in fiscum redegit . . . . . Fuit in illo regni fastidio tuendæ et fovendæ pacis publicæ studiosissimus; in portando gladio ad vindictam malefactorum, quietem vero bonorum, Dei minister multum idoneus; rerum et libertatum ecclesiasticarum, sicut post mortem ejus claruit, defensor et conservator præcipuus. Pupillorum, viduarum, pauperum, in suis præceptionibus multam curam habuit, et locis pluribus insignes eleemosynas larga manu impendit. Viros religiosos specialiter honoravit, et res eorum æquo cum suis dominiis jure conservari præcepit. Antiquam inhumanam circa naufragos consuetudinem in ipsis regni sui initiis eximia pietate correxit, atque hujusmodi hominibus ab æquoreo discrimine liberatis, humanitatis officium exhiberi præcipiens, graves in eos pœnas sanxit qui forte illis in aliquo molesti esse vel de rebus eorum quippiam usurpare præsumerent. Nullum grave regno Anglorum vel terris suis transmarinis onus unquam imposuit, usque ad illam novissimam decimationem, causa expeditionis Ierosolymitanæ, quæ nimirum decimatio in aliis æque fiebat regionibus. Tributum more aliorum principum sub cujuslibet necessitatis obtentu ecclesiis sive monasteriis nunquam indixit; quibus etiam ab angariis et exactionibus publicis religioso studio immunitatem servavit. Discrimen sanguinis et mortes hominum exhorrescens, armis quidem cum aliter non potuit, sed libentius pecuniis cum potuit, pacem quærere studuit. His aliisque bonis personam ornans regiam, multis tantum ad sola ejus mala oculos habentibus gratus non fuit. Ingrati homines et conversi in animum pravum proprii mala principis assidue carpebant; bona vero nec audire sustinebant, quibus utique sequentis temporis sola vexatio jam dedit intellectum.

The commentary on the Song of Solomon is not now known to exist. Hearne has printed at the end of his edition of the history three homilies ascribed to William of Newbury, which are perhaps part of the *sermones* attributed to him by Bale.

Editions.

The first edition of the History appeared at Antwerp, in 8vo. 1567. Edited by Gulielmus Silvius, which was reprinted in 1577, and in 1587 in the

Heidelberg collection of English chronicles. The text of these editions was very imperfect.

Guilielmi Neubrigensis Angli, canonici ad regulam S. Augustini, de Rebus Anglicis sui temporis libri quinque. Nunc primum auctiores xi. capitulis hactenus desideratis, et notis Joannis Picardi Bellovaci æque canonici ad S. Victoris Parisiensis. Parisiis, 1610. 8vo.

Guilielmi Neubrigensis Historia sive Chronica Rerum Anglicarum, libris quinque . . . . Studio atque industria Thomæ Hearnii. Accedunt Homiliæ tres eidem Guilielmo a viris eruditis adscriptæ . . . Oxoniæ, e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1719. 8vo. 3 vols.

Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France. Tome dix-huitième. A Paris, 1822, fol. pp. 1—58. Ex Guillelmi Neubrigensis libris quinque de Rebus Anglicis.

ROGER DE HOVEDEN.

Roger de Hoveden is on many accounts one of the most valuable historical writers of this age. He was probably born at Hoveden, or Howden, in Yorkshire; and we learn from his continuator, Walter of Coventry,* that he was attached to the household of king Henry II., who sent him to visit the abbey of Christ's Church in Norwich, and several other religious houses which were without abbots, a mission which he performed to the king's satisfaction. We know nothing more of his personal history, except that he finished his annals, the only work he appears to have composed, in the year 1201. The chief merit of Roger de Hoveden appears to be that of being a laborious compiler and copyist, with no very great share of originality; but he has introduced a great number of copies of letters and other documents which are not found elsewhere, and are of great value to the historian. One of the chief writers from whom he compiled was Simeon of Durham. In the latter part of his annals

* MS. Harl. 689 as quoted by Tanner.

he has copied almost verbatim the history of Benedict of Peterborough. We can have little doubt that Roger, and not Benedict, was the copyist, for the former not only appears to have been the later writer of the two, but in the years which coincide with those included in Benedict's work, he gives an account of the place where the court kept its Christmas festivities, and of the persons present, with some other of Benedict's peculiarities of arrangement, not found in other parts of the annals. As a specimen of the manner in which Roger has copied the style of Benedict, we give the passage from the annals corresponding to the extract previously given in the article on Benedict of Peterborough.

Interim Lodowicus rex Francorum et rex Angliæ filius obsederunt Vernolium; sed Hugo de Lasci et Hugo de Bello Campo, qui inde constabularii erant, villam Vernolii viriliter et constanti animo defenderunt. Attamen cum rex Franciæ ibi per mensam moram fecisset, vix expugnavit partiunculam villæ illius, ex parte illa ubi machinæ suæ bellicæ posuerant. Erant quidem infra Vernolium tres burgi præter castellum: et unusquisque illorum separatus erat ab altero, et interclusus forti muro et fossa aqua plena. Et unus illorum dicebatur magnus burgus, ubi extra murum fixa erant tentoria regis Franciæ et machinæ illius bellicæ. In fine autem illius mensis, cum burgenses de burgo magno viderent, quod victus et necessaria eis defecissent, nec haberent quid manducarent, compulsi fame et inopia inducias triduanas ceperunt a rege Franciæ eundi ad dominum suum regem Angliæ, propter succursum ab eo habendum. Et nisi infra sequens triduum succursum haberent, redderent ei burgum illum. Et statutus est eis dies peremptorius in vigilia Sancti Laurentii.

Editions.

Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipui, ex vetustissimis codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum in lucem editi (edited by Savile). Francofurti, 1601. fol. pp. 401—829. Rogeri de Hoveden Annalium pars prior et posterior.

Receuil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France. Tome dix-septième. A Paris, 1818. fol. pp. 546—615. Ex Rogeri de Hoveden Annalium parte posteriori.

JOHN OF BROMPTON.

Another history of this period, which begins with the year 588, the date at which Geoffrey of Monmouth's history concludes, and ends with the death of Richard I. in 1198, passes under the name of John of Brompton, who was abbot of Jervaux, in Yorkshire, in 1193. Selden, and after him bishop Nicholson, were of opinion that it is not the work of the abbot of Jervaux, but that it was merely an anonymous chronicle copied for the use of that abbey; and there is still preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. No. 96), a manuscript of this work ending with the colophon,—*Liber monasterii Jorevallensis ex procuratione domini Johannis Brompton abbatis ejusdem loci: si quis hunc librum alienaverit delebitur de libro vitæ.* This manuscript appears to be comparatively modern; but an additional reason for believing that the chronicle was not written by a monk of the abbey of Jervaux is found in the circumstance that it contains no account of the foundation or history of that monastic house.

This chronicle, like so many histories composed during the middle ages, is a mere compilation from other sources, and contains little or no original information. Under the year 1171 we find a long description of Ireland, abridged from the Topographia of Giraldus Cambrensis. In the year following this date the compiler abridges from Benedict of Peterborough, as will be seen from the following extract, corresponding with that given above from Roger de Hoveden.

Similiter etiam circa octabas apostolorum Petri et Pauli Ludowicus rex Franciæ cum exercitu magno Normanniam intrans Vernolium obsedit, et

machinis bellicis statim factis villam circumquaque insultabat cotidie. Sed burgenses et milites infra positi villam viriliter defenderunt. Nam rex Franciæ qui jam per mensem cum exercitu suo ibi jacuerat, parum proficiens, in nullo eis nocere potuit nisi ex parte illa ubi erant tentoria sua fixa. In fine autem illius mensis victualibus in burgo deficientibus, burgenses fame et inopia compulsi inducias triduanas ut libere exirent et pro succursu ad regem Angliæ transirent a rege Franciæ petierunt, et nisi infra sequens triduum ab eo succursum haberent sibi villam redderent quam tenebant.

Edition.

Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X. (edited by Sir Roger Twysden). Londini, 1652. fol. coll. 721—1284. Chronicon Johannis Brompton abbatis Jorvalensis, ab anno Domini 588 quo S. Augustinus venit in Angliam usque mortem regis Ricardi I. scilicet annum Domini 1198. Nunc primum editum ex MSS. codicibus fideliter collatis.

RADULPH DE DICETO.

This historian is said to have travelled through a great part of Europe, and to have been made on his return archdeacon of Middlesex, about the year 1160. About 1164 he obtained the rectory of Aynho in Northamptonshire, which he resigned in 1190. He was also rector of Finchingfield in Essex, in the time of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and therefore subsequently to 1193. In 1183 he had been made dean of London. It is not known when he died, but the old bibliographers are certainly wrong in stating that he *flourished* in 1210.* There is some confusion in the accounts of this writer's works, which it seems difficult to correct. Two were published in Sir Roger Twysden's collection of historians, an abbreviated history brought down to the year 1198, and a rather more diffuse history which, according to the writer's own statement, began in the year 1147 and ended in 1193, though

* See Tanner, in v. *Diceto.* A manuscript quoted by Gale called him Radulphus de *Disseto.*

in the manuscripts it is generally continued to the year 1199 or 1200. Gale published under the name of Radulph de Diceto a short abridgement of the fabulous British history, which is supposed to be the same book that Wharton says he saw in the Norwich library. Some other historical tracts, relating chiefly to ecclesiastical affairs, are printed in the Anglia Sacra. A few letters by Radulph de Diceto are preserved among the Cottonian manuscripts: the old biographers give the titles of theological works by this writer.

The historical writings of Radulph de Diceto are chiefly valuable for the copious notices they contain relating to the affairs of the English church. He is not distinguished in any other way from the ordinary chroniclers of his age. The account of the siege of Verneuil, in 1173, will serve to compare his style with that of the historians who have been spoken of in the preceding articles.

Ludovicus rex Francorum ad Normanniam penitus devastandam innumerabilem congregavit exercitum octabis sancti Johannis Baptistæ. Auxiliariis undique concurrentibus primo impetu statuit delere Vernolium. Fixis circumquaque tentoriis, quanam ex parte primos experiretur conatus missis exploratoribus cœpit inquirere. Reportatum est castrum inaccessibile, utpote fossatis circumdatum, cinctum muris, propugnaculis obfirmatum, viris bellicosis ebulliens, radiantibus armis refertum, victualibus multis abundans, et nisi longa obsidio fame coarctaverit multitudinem intus obsessam, Franci poterant inani labore consumi, vel atteri prorsus irreparabili jactura. Ad sumptus igitur exercitui providendos, relatio necessaria domicilio cujusque transmittitur. Per totam Galliam fit descriptio generalis. Nullus immunitate gaudebat. A sedente in solio usque ad laborantem in mola, vel in prostibulo dormientem, manum extendere videbantur regii exactores. Non sexus, non ordo, non dignitas a muneribus sordidis vacationem habebat. Persona fortunæ injuria miserabilis si vel agellulum possideret vel asinam urgebatur conferre. Hujuscemodi passim imprecabantur expeditioni, qui ut exercitui necessaria ministrarent, distrahere patrimonia cogebantur . . . . Intra septa Vernolii burgum quoddam divitibus mixtim et pauperibus inhabitatum, alto clausum muro, certis distinctum limitibus, proprio designatum vocabulo, Burgum videlicet Reginæ, quoniam a tempore obsidionis pauperum et debilium intus fuerat multitudo conclusa, fame cœpit periclitari. Quod cum ad

regis Francorum notitiam pervenisset, burgi portas sibi petiit aperiri, lege proposita, quod si quis intra triduum proximum subveniret burgo conclusis, quod impossibile judicabat, ab omni læsione servarentur indempnes.

Editions.

Twysden, Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X. Londini, 1652, fol. coll. 429—710. Radulphi de Diceto decani Londoniensis Abbreviationes Chronicorum et Ymagines Historiarum. Nunc primum editæ ex MSS. codicibus fideliter collatis.

Historiæ Britannicæ, Saxonicæ, Anglo-Danicæ, Scriptores XV. Ex vetustis Codd. MSS. Editi opera Thomæ Gale. Oxoniæ, 1691. fol. pp. 553—562. Historia compendiosa de Regibus Britonum per Radulphum Dicetum.

Wharton, Anglia Sacra. London. 1691. fol. tom. i. pp. 87—9, Indiculum de successione archiepiscoporum Cantuar. et a quibus apostolicis pallia susceperunt.—tom. ii. pp. 677—693, Historia sedis Cantuar.

RICHARD THE CANON.

Richard the Canon is said to have been a monk of the priory of the Holy Trinity in London, about the year 1200. The late Mr. Petrie, who had the opportunity of comparing the manuscripts preserved at Cambridge and elsewhere, was of opinion that the history of the expedition of Richard I. to Syria, which Gale printed under the name of Geoffrey de Vinsauf, is the work of Richard the Canon. It had previously been printed anonymously in the Gesta Dei per Francos. Leland speaks of Richard as being the author of histories of this crusade in prose and verse, of which he had only seen the latter. The Itinerarium printed by Gale is in prose, but it is interspersed with quotations in verse, and seems to be the work of one who was in the habit of reading the classic writers of antiquity. It is a valuable contemporary document, and gives us a more detailed account of the expedition than any other chronicle. As a specimen of the style of this writer, we may cite one of the incidents which occurred at the siege of Acre.

Petrariarum hostilium, quarum fuit in civitate copia, una fuit incomparabilis, et magnitudine compactæ machinæ et pro voto torquentium, inæstimabilis molis lapides jaculando efficax. Hujus nihil potuit resistere vehementiæ. Incredibilis molis quippe lapides jacebat, emissos etiam lapides procul impetus egit.

Omnia comminuit jactus quæcunque feriret.

Lapides nihilominus, quoties nullo retardarentur obstaculo, unius pedis longitudine agebantur in terram cadentes. Nonnullas petrariarum nostrarum percutiens in particulas dispersit, vel certe inutiles effecit, machinas quoque alias plures vel ictu dissolvit, vel particulam quam attigerat abscidit. Tanta nimirum erat vehementia jaculandi, et impetus tam pertinax, quod nihil tam solidum vel ita fuit compactum cujuscunque materiæ vel substantiæ, quod posset incolume tam intolerabilis percussuræ sustinere injuriam. Hæc igitur talis in quendam ex nostris hominem lapidem enormis magnitudinis dedit a tergo, aversa quippe facie steterat nihil suspicans, sed nec æstimans tam procul posse lapidem pervenisse, sed nec hominem quidam vel in minimo læsit, imo nec loco movit, sed resiliens a tergo tanquam a monte ferreo decidit haud procul inefficax. Quem vir ille respiciens plus habuit horroris ex visu, quam doloris ex ictu. Quis hoc, inquam, non ascriberet divinæ miserationi? quis hoc intelligens non pensaret magna opera Domini, cujus pro se certantibus semper præsto est clementia? Ad cujus commendandam ubique merito magnificentiam quid operatius est subjiciam.

Edition.

Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores quinque ex vetustis codicibus MSS. nunc primum in lucem editi. vol. ii. Oxoniæ, 1687, fol. pp. 247—429, Itinerarium regis Anglorum Richardi et aliorum in terram Hierosolymorum, auctore Gaufrido Vinisauf.

WALTER DE COUTANCES, AND OTHER WRITERS ON THE CRUSADE.

WALTER DE COUTANCES (*de Constantiis* or *de Constantia*) is stated by Giraldus Cambrensis,* and by John de Hauteville, to have been a native of Cornwall, and to have been descended of British blood. John of Salisbury† calls him Walter de Insula, from which circum-

* Girald. Cambr. ap. Angl. Sacr. vol. ii. p. 418.
† Epist. 187.

stance the writer of the article on Walter de Coutances in the Histoire Littéraire de France* conjectures that he was a native of the Isle of Jersey, which then belonged to the diocese of Coutances in Normandy. We know nothing of his history until we find him in 1173 holding the high position of vice-chancellor of England, when we learn that he was also a canon of Rouen.† He was evidently in very high favour with the king, who, in 1177, sent him in his quality as vice-chancellor with Ranulph de Glanville on a mission to the count of Flanders.‡ In 1180 he was sent with the bishop of Winchester on an embassy to the court of France.§ Among his other ecclesiastical dignities, he was a canon of Lincoln, and archdeacon of Oxford.

It appears that the grand object of Walter's ambition was the bishopric of Lisieux, and that he used every endeavour to persuade or force bishop Arnulf to vacate it in his favour. Arnulf, in a letter addressed to Richard bishop of Winchester,|| complains bitterly of the persecutions to which he was subjected through Walter's influence at court; and from another letter¶ it appears that he had offered Arnulf money to pay his debts on condition of his compelling the chapter to promise him their votes for the first vacancy. In 1183, when Geoffrey, who had been bishop elect of Lincoln several years, was promoted to the archbishopric of York, the see of Lincoln was given to Walter de Coutances, who was immediately consecrated at Anjou by the archbishop of Canterbury.** In less than

* Tom. xvi. p. 536.

† Rad. de Diceto, col. 568.

‡ Roger de Hoveden, Annal. p. 561.

§ Rad. de Diceto, col. 609.

|| Arnulphi Lexov. Epist. ed. Giles, Ep. 107, page 266.

¶ Arnulph. ib. Ep. 117.

** Rad. de Diceto, col. 615.

a year after this he was promoted to the metropolitan see of Rouen, a poorer benefice, but a higher dignity, than that which he left.*

From this period the name of the archbishop of Rouen occurs continually in connection with the political events of his age. In 1188 he took the cross, and engaged himself to accompany king Henry II. in his intended crusade. On that monarch's death he invested Richard with the dukedom of Normandy, and then hastened to England to assist at his coronation. After holding a provincial council at Rouen, he accompanied king Richard in his voyage to Syria,† and appears to have enjoyed the entire confidence of that monarch. When the king received intelligence of the troubles caused by the dissensions between William de Longchamp and his opponents, he sent the archbishop of Rouen back to England, with letters constituting him regent, with the offices of chief justice and chancellor.‡ We find him, in his capacity of regent, calling a parliament at Oxford, on the arrival of intelligence of the captivity of Richard in his return from the Holy Land.§ Archbishop Walter was a stanch defender of the rights of the church; and, at a period subsequent to that last mentioned, we find him obstinately opposed to the king, when the latter began to build the Château Gaillard at Andely, which was a territory belonging to the church. His opposition was carried so far that he made a personal appeal to the pope, who however justified the king, and the archbishop immediately acquiesced.‖ Walter died on the 16th of November, 1207.

* W. Neubrig. Hist. lib. iii. c. 8.

† Roger de Hoveden, Annal. p. 667.

‡ Roger de Hoveden, Annal. pp. 687, 706. Rad. de Dicet. col. 1231.

§ Roger de Hoveden, p. 721.

‖ Roger de Hoveden, Annal. p. 769.

The only writings of this prelate now preserved are a few letters scattered through the pages of contemporary annalists. But he is said to have written a history of the crusade, which is not extant, and which, if such a work ever existed, is a great loss to the historian.

Another writer, called by the old bibliographers GULIELMUS PEREGRINUS, is said likewise to have written a history of king Richard's expedition against the Saracens, in Latin verse, which he dedicated to Hubert archbishop of Canterbury and Stephen de Turnham. But this also appears to be lost.

Another history of king Richard and of his expedition to Syria is said to have been written by one HUGH DE HOVEDEN, and to have been preserved among the Digby manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Tanner quotes the following lines from Robert of Gloucester (which are not found in Hearne's edition)—

> But who so wole of his chevalrie knowe or wyte,
> Rede he in the cornycles that ben of him wryte,
> That mayster Hew hath of Howdane y-wrouȝte.

It seems, however, probable that Hugh de Hoveden is only an error for Roger de Hoveden the annalist.

GERVASE OF CANTERBURY.

GERVASE was a monk of the priory of Christ's Church, Canterbury, where he appears to have held the office of sacristan, but this is all we know of his history. He was present when Canterbury cathedral was burnt in 1174, and watched the progress of building the new church until the year 1184, the date of the election of Baldwin to the archbishopric, when he wrote an account

of these events under the title of *Tractatus de combustione et reparatione Dorobornensis ecclesiæ.* In another tract, which was probably written soon after the accession of archbishop Hubert in 1193, Gervase gives a detailed account of the dissentions between archbishop Baldwin and his monks. His next work, a history of the archbishops of Canterbury, terminating soon after the accession of Hubert, was probably also published during the reign of Richard I. His chronicle, of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I., ends with the death of the latter monarch in 1199, and, as Gervase states at the conclusion that it was only the first part of a work of which the second was to be devoted to the reign of John, it appears to have been compiled in the first years of the thirteenth century. The second part appears never to have been written.

A manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (No. 438), contains a historical treatise by Gervase of Canterbury, entitled *Mappa Mundi*, in two parts, the first of which appears to consist of a topographical description of England as divided into counties, with lists of the bishops' sees and monasteries in each; and the second, of lists of the archbishops "of the whole world" and of their suffragans. The same volume contains a chronicle of England by Gervase, beginning with the fabulous ages and ending with the death of Richard I., the latter part of which is probably the same as the printed chronicle.

Gervase is deserving of the character, given to him by bishop Nicolson, of a diligent and judicious historian. His writings show great care in collecting information, and discrimination in using it; and his chronicle of the reigns of Stephen, Henry, and Richard is one of the most valuable of the historical memorials of the twelfth century.

The following extract from the prologue to this chronicle will serve as a specimen of the style of Gervase, and at the same time show us his notions of the distinction between a chronicler and a historian:

Sanctorum vero orthodoxorum patrum gloriosa et imitanda exempla continentur in historiis vel annalibus, quæ alio nomine chronica nuncupantur. In quibus multa quærenti sedulo bene vivendi repperiuntur exempla, quibus humana ignorantia de tenebris educitur, et ut in bono proficiat edocetur. Historici autem et chronici secundum aliquid una est intentio et materia, sed diversus tractandi modus est et forma varia. Utriusque una est intentio, quia uterque veritati intendit. Forma tractandi varia, quia historicus diffuse et eleganter incedit, chronicus vero simpliciter graditur et breviter. Projicit historicus ampullas et sesquipedalia verba; chronicus vero silvestrem musam tenui meditatur avena. Sedet historicus inter magniloquos et grandia verba serentes, at chronicus sub pauperis amiclæ pausat tugurio ne sit pugna pro paupere tecto. Proprium est historici veritati intendere, audientes vel legentes dulci sermone et eleganti demulcere, actus, mores, vitamque ipsius quem describit edocere, nihilque aliud comprehendere nisi quod historiæ de ratione videtur competere. Chronicus autem annos incarnationis Domini annorumque menses computat et kalendas, actus etiam regum et principum quæ in ipsis eveniunt breviter edocet, eventus etiam, portenta, vel miracula commemorat. Sunt autem plurimi qui chronicas vel annales scribentes limites suos excedunt, nam philacteria sua dilatare et fimbrias magnificare delectant. Dum enim chronicam compilare cupiunt, historici more incedunt, et quod breviter sermoneque humili de modo scribendi dicere debuerant, verbis ampullosis aggravare conantur.

Edition.

Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X. (Twysden). Londini, 1652. fol. coll. 1285—1684. Gervasii monachi Dorobernensis sive Cantuariensis, Tractatus de combustione et reparatione Dorobornensis ecclesiæ: Imaginationes de discordiis inter monachos Cantuarienses et archiepiscopum Baldewinum: Chronica de tempore regum Angliæ Stephani, Hen. II. et Ricardi I. Vitæ Dorobornensium archiepiscoporum.

Translation.

A Report of the Proceedings of the British Archæological Association; at the first General Meeting, held at Canterbury, in the month of September, 1844. Edited by Alfred John Dunkin. London, 1845, 8vo. pp. 194—240. Gervase's account of the burning and repairing the church of Canterbury.

RADULPH NIGER.

Radulph, better known by the Latin surname of Niger, is said by Tanner to have been born at Bury, in Suffolk; and it appears from the inedited preface to one of his theological works that he studied at Paris under Girard la Pucelle. At the beginning of one of his theological works he is entitled archdeacon of Gloucester. He was a violent partizan of Becket, and for his activity against the king he was driven into exile, in revenge for which he wrote a most calumnious account of the character of Henry II., after that monarch's death. As the chronicle to which this character is attached is very slight, and of no importance, we can only imagine that he wrote it for the purpose of publishing a libel. A continuator has brought it down in one MS. (MS. Cotton, Vespas. D. x.) to 1178, and in another (MS. Reg. 13 A. XII.) to 1206. A considerable portion of Radulph Niger's chronicle appears to be merely abridged from William of Malmsbury.

There is another chronicle, somewhat more diffuse, in MS. Cotton, Cleopat. C. x., also by Radulph Niger, who, at fol. 50, gives a list of his own writings in these words: *Radulphus Niger scripsit vij. digesta super Eptaticum; scripsit et Moralia Regum, et Epitomen Veteris Testamenti, in Paralipomenon, et Remediarium in Esdram; scripsit etiam librum de re militari et tribus viis peregrinationis Hierosolymitanæ, et librum de quatuor festivitatibus beatæ Mariæ virginis, et librum de interpretationibus Hebræorum nominum; scripsit et hæc Chronica.*

Most of the theological works indicated in this list were preserved among the manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral.

Radulph's Chronicles occur not very unfrequently in manuscripts of the thirteenth century. The following is the latter part of his character of Henry II., with the observations of the writer who continued the chronicle.

Corruptus a Ricardo archiepiscopo monetam corrumpi permisit, corruptores tandem suspendio decedere compellens. Avibus cœli, piscibus fluminum, bestiis terræ, immunitatem dedit, et sata pauperum loca pascuæ fecit. Causam fidei læsæ et advocationis ecclesiarum in curia decidi constituit. Electionis jus ita delinivit quod toto sui regni spacio nec unus ex millibus canonice sit promotus. Vulgus inauditum manibus et pedibus truncavit. Comites et episcopos in servitutem fossandi et cæterorum operum servilium coegit. Tributarius exteris, in domesticos prædo, scutagiis, recognitionibus, et variis angariarum alluvionibus fere omnes depressit. Omne jus poli jure fori demutavit. Scripta autentica omnium enervavit. Libertatibus omnium insidians quasi e specula, solotenus egit innoxiorum municipia. Filias miseræ conditionis corruptas et oppressas copulans clarissimis, hæredes omnes mechanicos creavit. Servis generosas copulans, pedaneæ conditionis fecit universos. Hæreditates retinuit, aut vendidit, fortunam semper in exitu præter duos annos vitæ ultimos blandam expertus. Exin aucta ei insolentia, nihil intemeratum reliquit, nihil intactum præteriit, et totus in auro aurum esuriebat, sitiebat, anhelabat, et crescentem auri cumulum vincebat avaritia. Oratorium ingressus, picturæ aut susurro vacabat, horas regulares quasi aconitum fugiebat. Presbyteros innoxios compeditos habuit in vinculis, nullam distinctionem habens clerici vel rustici, abbatis vel cerdonis, monachi vel pedaciæ. In causis differendis cavilacissimus, ut sæpe jus venderet. Episcopatus vacantes electione diu suspendit, ut eis diutius abuteretur, et cum prius debeant clerici et monachi in episcopos et abbates canonice eligi quam consecrari vel benedici, hodie prius in Anglia consecrantur et benedicuntur. Nunquam enim eliguntur, sed a laicis intruduntur. Inter eligentes serens discordias, quod ei etiam inter filios consuetissimum, ut factionem propriam aliena malignitate obnuberet. Et hæc ei causa excidii præcipua.

Hucusque protraxit hanc chronicam magister Radulphus Niger, qui accusatus apud prædictum principem et in exilium pulsus, ob expulsionis injuriam atrociora quam decuit de tanto ac tam serenissimo rege mordaci stilo conscripsit, magnificos ejus actus quibus insignis ubique habebatur reticendo, atque prava ejus opera absque alicujus excusationis palliatione replicando, cum pleraque de his quæ commemoravit in pluribus articulis aliquantulam admittant excusationem, si gestorum ejus intentio justo libramine penderetur, si regiæ potestatis lubrica libertas pensetur, quæ fere cunctis potentibus dat licere quod libet, quorum vitiis facile favent inferiores, proni ad imitandum, prompti ad adulandum, cum et impunitas præstet audaciam, divitiæ vero acuant et accendant culpam.

WILLIAM OF RAMSEY.

William of Ramsey is known as a writer of lives of English saints. He appears to have been a native of the place from which he took his name; and subsequently became a monk of Croyland. We know no more of his personal history, which, in fact, is very obscure. One of his earliest works was perhaps the Life and Miracles of the Saxon Waltheof, who had been beheaded by William the Conqueror and buried at Croyland, of which place he had been a benefactor, and where popular love and superstition afterwards venerated him as a saint. In the title to this tract the author is styled simply a monk of Croyland, and in subsequent parts of the tract the events are twice brought down to the year 1219, and the abbacy of Henry de Longchamp. William of Ramsey also wrote, in Latin verse, lives of St. Guthlac, king Edmund the Martyr, St. Birin, and St. Fredemund, once preserved in a manuscript in the Cottonian library (Vitellius, D. xiv.), which perished in the fire. Other copies appear, however, to be contained in a manuscript in the public library of the University of Cambridge. The life of Guthlac was dedicated to Henry de Longchamp, abbot of Croyland (a. d. 1191—1236); and that of St. Birin to Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester, and therefore after 1204. A Life of St. Neot is also ascribed to this writer, but it seems rather uncertain which of the lives of that saint, found anonymously in several manuscripts, ought to be assigned to him. His name is attached in a comparatively modern hand to the Life of St. Neot in a Cottonian manuscript (MS. Cotton.

Claud. A. v.).* It is stated in a manuscript of the end of the fourteenth century, that William, monk of Ramsey, wrote thirty homilies on the Song of Solomon,† but it seems doubtful whether this be the same person or not.

William's Life of Waltheof is only valuable as containing a curious romantic legend, relating to the origin of Waltheof's family. Otherwise it is neither remarkable for the style in which it is written nor important for the historical information it contains. Perhaps the best example of the Latinity of this writer will be furnished by one of the miracles.

Qualiter adolescens cæcus in eodem loco pristino oculorum lumini sit redditus.

Sequenti quoque tempore, id est xv. kalendas Junii, de villa quæ est super Bruneswald, Ludington vocitata, tributum monasterio sancti Benedicti præbente de Ramesia, crebrescente ubique rumore sanctitatis beati Waldevi, venit quidam adolescens, nomine Radulfus, oculorum officio diu privatus. Monachus etenim illius ecclesiæ, nomine Godricus, una cum ductore suo ad tumbam sancti Waldevi illum adduxit, eodem rogante attentius. Qui cum ibidem in oratione prostratus permansisset, non illa sed subsequenti nocte, circa sonitum matutinæ synaxeos, sopore levi jam inundatus et quasi semivigilans, vidit quendam egregia valde forma virum de sepulchro surgere, cattumque ab eo nigrum, quem in collo gerere sibi cæcus ipse videbatur, extractum longius projicere. Quod dum fieret, confestim experectus quo tenebatur somno, miseratione divina vidit candelas et cereos circa idem sepulchrum accensos. Facto igitur mane, ejusdem ecclesiæ conventus comperto miraculo cui nihil est impossibile laudaverunt Dominum, qui est solamen et expectatio sanctorum suorum. Idem autem juvenis de villa qua venit testimonium multis illuminationi illius perhibentibus, pro adepta miraculi lætitia a fratribus adhuc retentus, plane videns in eadem servit ecclesia.

Editions.

Chroniques Anglo-Normandes . . . publiées par Francisque Michel. Tome Second. Rouen, 1836. 8vo. pp. 99—142. Vita et Passio Waldevi comitis. Miracula sancti Waldevi gloriosi martyris.

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* On the lives of St. Neot, see Gorham's History of St. Neot's, vol. i. pp. 247—270, and Whitaker's Life of St. Neot, 8vo. Lond. 1809.

† Gulielmus monachus de Ramsey scripsit super Cantica Canticorum omelias xxx. MS. Cotton. Claud. E. iv. fol. 353, v°.

WILLIAM THE CLERK.

This poet, or trouvère, was a native of Normandy; he was a clerk, although he wrote in Anglo-Norman instead of Latin, and often chose profane subjects; and he lived in the reign of king John. The poem by which he is best known, and which seems by the number of manuscripts remaining to have been most popular,* is a metrical Bestiary, or treatise on Natural History as it was then taught, with moralizations giving a symbolical interpretation and application of the properties and characteristics of the different animals described in it. The author tells us in the following opening lines that this work was written when Philippe Auguste held the crown of France and during the interdict to which England was subjected under king John, and complains of the corruption of manners which was then too prevalent in the court of England as well as in that of Rome.

Qui ben comence e bein define,
Co est verité seive e fine,
En totes overaignes en deit
Estre loez, qui que il seit.
Livre de bone començaile,
Qui avera bone definale
E bon dit e bone matyre,
Vielt Guillame en Romanz dire.
De bon Latin où il le troeve
Ceste oveiragne fu fete noeve
El tens que Phelipe tint France,

* Our extracts are taken from MS. Reg. 16 E. VIII. Another copy of the *Bestiaire Divins*, as it is commonly entitle l, is found in MS. Cotton, Vespas. A. vii.

El tens de la grant mesestaunce
Que Engletere fu entredite,
Si qu'il n'i avoit messe dite,
Ne cors mis en tere sacrée.
De l'entredit ne lui agrée
Que à ceste foiz plus en die.*
Por ço que drieture mendie,
E leauté est povre e basse,
Tote ceste chose trespasse
Guillame, que forment s'en delt
Qu'il n'ose dire çoe que il veil
De la tricherie que curt
En l'une e en l'autre curt.
Mais à plus halt dire se prent;
Kar en cest livre vos aprent
Natures de bestes et mors,
Non de tutes, meis de plusors,
Où mult avera moralité,
E bon pas de divinité,
Où l'em purra essample aprendre
De bein fere e de bein aprendre.
Rimez iert par consonancie:
Li clers fud nez de Normendie
Qui auctor est de cest Romaunz.

The author begins his treatise with an account of the lion, and next proceeds to describe in their order the principal beasts, birds, and fishes then known, including some of a very doubtful character. The account of the syren will give the best notion of the style and character of the moralizations with which these descriptions are accompanied.

La sereine que si ben chante,
E par son chant les genz enchante,
Done essample à ceus chastier
Que par cest monde deivent najer.
Nos qui par cest monde passom,

* i. e. " it does not please him to say more at this time of the interdict." It is necessary to point this out, as the abbé de la Rue, taking only half the sentence, has stated in his account of William that the poet disapproved of the interdict itself.

Sumes deceus par tel son,
Par veine glorie qui nos occit,
De cest mond e le delit.
Quant le delit avom amors,
La luxurie lese del cors,
La glutonie, le yveresce,
L'aise del lit et la richesce,
Lais palefroiz, les chevals gras,
La noblece des riche dras.
Toz jors nos traium cele part,
De là venir nus est mult tart;
Iloeques tant nos delitum,
Que tot à force nos i demorum.
E donc nos occit la sereine,
C'est li malfez qui mal nus maine,
Que tant nos fait plunger es vices,
Qu'il nos enclot dedens ses lices:
Donc nos asaut e cort sure,
Si nos occit e nos acore,
Ausi come les sereines funt
Les mariners qui par mer vont.
Meis il i ad meint mariner
Qui se set ben garder et gaitier,
Quant il vet siglant par la mer
Ses oreilles prent à estoper,
Qu'il n'oie cant que le deceit;
Tot ensement faire le deit
Li hom qui passe par cest monde, &c.

The abbé de la Rue has stated erroneously that the trouvère William speaks from time to time of the historical events of his age in the moralizations of the Bestiary; in one instance only, when speaking of the fidelity of the turtle dove, he breaks into the following reflections on the melancholy position of the church in England at the time he was writing:

Quant l'autor qui rima cest livre
Deveit içi entor escrivre,
Mult esteit tristes e dolanz,
Car jà aveit esté dos anz
Seinte yglise si dolerose,
E si mate e si pooruse,
Que quidouent par folie

Que son espos l'ust guerpie.
Car ele ne sout le chef lever;
Poi i entrout gent pur urer
En trestot l'yglisse d'Engletere.
Mult ert la dame en dure guerre
Par tot le realme à cel jor,
E en peril e en dolor;
Car si enfant demeinement
Li moveient torneiement,
Le plus de la chevalerie,
Plus qu'en une mahomerie
N'i entrasent à cel termine.
Mult esteit en grant discipline
Torné e en chaitiveison,
N'avoit mès gent si petit non
En tote Bretainge le grant
Que ne fust false e mescreant,
Pur l'avoir que il guanoient
Des yglises qu'il gardoient,
Erent li plus halt à devise
Contre la pes de seinte yglise.

At the conclusion of this poem, William praises his patron, named sire Ralph, but he gives us no particulars which could lead to the discovery who this sire Ralph was. The lines in which his name occurs offer a singular example of philological flattery.

Guillame, qui cest livre fist,
En la definaille tant dist
De sire Raol sun seignur,
Pur qui il fut en cest labor,
Qui li ad ben guerdoné,
Pramis lui ad e bein duné,
Ben lui ad covenant tenu.
A Raol est ben avenu;
Car il ad son non aempli,
Ne l'ad mie mis en ubli.
Tel est come son non devise;
E jo m'en lo de sun servise.
Cest non Raol sone grant chose:
Ore vus enprendrai la glose.
Treis sillabbes i ad saunz plus,
Le *ra* e le *dul* e le *fus;*
Le *ra* est pris de *racio*,

E le *dul* veint de *dulcedo,*
E le teirce sillabe *fus*
Dist autre taunt cume *fultus.*
Si le non est à dreit glosé,
Fultus eirt en mi leu posé;
Dunc eirt *fultus undique*
Racione dulcedine.
Cest non Raol est apiné
E de raison e de pité;
Pité, dulcor, e reison,
Ont en son quer fait meison.

In his advanced years William composed another poem of a moral tendency, entitled *Le Besant de Dieu,* of which a copy is preserved in the Royal Library at Paris. We can only describe this poem after the account of it given by M. de la Rue, who says that it was written in 1226. The term *besant* was applied in the middle ages to a coin; and the poet, meditating on the actions of his past life, says that he has not turned his talents, the besant or coin entrusted to every man by his creator, to so good profit as God will expect from him. Among his other sins, he confesses that he has too often employed his pen on profane subjects, tales and fabliaux.

Guillaume, uns clers qui fu Normans,
Qui versifia en Romans,
Fables et contes soleit dire,
En fole et en vaine matire
Pecha sovent, Deus li pardont!
Mult aima les delits del mond.

As an act of contrition he determines to compose a work of greater utility.

Pensa Guillaume qu'il fereit
Vers consonans, où l'en porroit
Prendre essample et bone matire
Del monde hair et despire,
Et de nostre seignor servir
Tant come l'ome en a leisir.

He begins by describing the duties of kings and princes and their courtiers, blames their love of war, and exclaims against the ambition of the pope and the exactions of his legates. The *besants* entrusted to the great and the powerful in church and state are the power, dignities, riches, science, and talents, which God has conferred upon them, and the poet shows how they are all abused. William expresses strong disapprobation of the war against the Albigeois, undertaken by the French king at the instigation of the pope. Many of the French engaged in this crusade were, he says, more sinful than the people they persecuted.

Que dira Deus á ces Franceis,
Qui preisiez chevalers ont,
Qui par devant croiser se font
Sovent contre ces Albigeis?
Il i a plusors de ces Franceis
Qui autretant à blasmer sont
Come sont cil sur qui il vont.

He blames the papal court as the cause of this unnatural war.

Quant Franceis vont sor Tolosains,
Qu'il tiennent à Publicains,
Et la legacie Romaine
Les i conduit et les i maine,
N'est mie bien, ce m'est avis;
Bons et mals sont en toz pais;
Et por çeo velt Deus qu'on atende,
Car mult li plaist que home amende.

At the time he was concluding his poem, death had just carried off the French king, Louis VIII., in the midst of his ambitious projects against the devoted Provençals.

Al contemple que fis ces vers,
Avoit la mort jeté envers
Le rei de France Loeis,
Qui ert issu de son pais
Por autrui terre purchasser;
Les Provençiaus cuida chacer,

Les Tolosains prendre et honir,
Et quant il cuida tut tenir
Tuit guaigner et tut aveir,
Si li failli tut son espeir.
De France ne de Normandie,
Ne de tute sa seigneurie,
Ne des grans terres q'il teneit,
Ou fust à tort ou fust à dreit,
N'ot que siet pieds tant solement,
A tant revint son tenement.

M. de la Rue states that this poem extends to 3,758 lines.

William was also the author of a metrical romance belonging to the cycle of the round table, entitled *Li Romans des Aventures Fregus.* The scene of this story is laid in Scotland; Fregus is the son of a peasant, ambitious of becoming a knight, an honour which he receives at the hands of king Arthur. He then sets out in search of adventurous exploits, defeats the Black Knight who had insulted the British monarch, and gains renown far and near. In the course of his adventures he obtains the love of a young lady of great beauty named Gallienne. The separation of the two lovers, and their adventures in search of each other, occupy the greater part of the poem. At the conclusion, the author makes us acquainted with his name, and there appears no reason for doubting that he was the same William who wrote the *Bestiaire* and the *Besant de Dieu.*

Guillaumes li clers trait à fin
De sa matere et de sa trueve;
Car en nule terre ne trueve
Nul homme ki tant ait vescu.
Dou chevalier au biel escu
Plus en avant conter ne sache.
Ichi mec la bonne et l'estache,
Et chi est la fins dou Roumanch:
Soit pais et salus as escoutans!

We have seen that, in the *Besant de Dieu,* Guillaume acknowledges having composed fabliaux and tales. One

of these has been printed in the last edition of the collection of Barbazan, under the title of *Du prestre et d'Alison*, the subject and manner of treating of which rank it among the most licentious of this class of medieval poetry. In the opening lines the author boasts of having composed many similar pieces.

Il sont mais tant de menestrex,
Que ne sai à dire desquex
Ge sui, par le cors saint Huitace!
Guillaume, qui sovent se lasse
En rimer et en fabloier,
En a un fait qui molt est chier,
De la fille d'une borgoise
Qui meint en la riviere d'Oise.

The only other fabliau, however, which is known to exist as the work of a trouvère of this name, is a short story of a different description from the one last mentioned: it is entitled *De la male honte*, and has also been printed in the collection of Barbazan. The author merely names himself William, and makes no allusion to his country or profession. M. de la Rue attributes to William the Clerk a third fabliau, entitled *La file à la bourgeoise*, but this is perhaps only another title for the fabliau *Du prestre et d'Alison*, founded on the words of the seventh line of the extract given above.

Editions.

Fabliaux et Contes des poétes François des xi, xii, xiii, xiv, et xv siècles. Publiés par Barbazan. Nouvelle édition (By Meon). Tome troisième. Paris, 1808. 8vo. pp. 210—215. De la male honte.—Tome quatrième. pp. 427—441. Du prestre et d'Alison, par Guillaume le Normand.

Le Roman des Aventures de Fregus, par Guillaume le clerc, trouvère du treizième siècle. Publié, pour la première fois, par Francisque Michel. Edimbourg, imprimé pour le Club d'Abbotsford. 1841. 4to.

THOMAS DE BAILLEUL.

We can only repeat the account of this trouvère given by M. de la Rue, without being able to verify its accuracy; for he has given a wrong reference to the only MS. containing the poem attributed to him, which he states to be in the British Museum, MS. Reg. 20 B. XVII. As far as we have been able to ascertain, there is no manuscript in the British Museum answering to the abbé de la Rue's description; and we suspect that he intended to refer to some manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris. He supposes the author to be the same Thomas de Bailleul who in 1205 received in fief one of the rents payable to the exchequer in London; but he does not tell us in what way the name is attached to the poem in question, which he describes as "a tale, or rather a critique on the conduct of king John, who made so many vain efforts to repossess himself of Normandy."

The poet, he says, begins his narrative with a charming description of spring; he sings the mildness of the spring, the beauty of the roads, the elegance of the country damsels who pass along them, the poor man who rejoices to bask with his children in the sun, the joy of the shepherds, the lark which charms them with its song, the youth of the towns coming to respire the pure air of the country. He goes on to say that at this season, in the beginning of the month of May, near a town built by the Saracens in the marshes of Anesin, appear suddenly two powerful armies; they approach each other, are on the point of engaging, and a sanguinary combat appears inevitable. On one side are the Persians, the Greeks, the Sicilians, the Lombards, the Toulousans, the Gascons,

the Limousins, and the Poitevins; on the other the Africans, the Esclavons, the Germans, the Burgundians, the Picards, the Normans, the French, and the Angevins. Counts palatine command the two hosts, which are composed of knights of the highest rank. M. de la Rue gives the following extract descriptive of the alarm of the women produced by the appearance of these two armies:

> Et les dames estoient haut el palais marbrin,
> Assises as fenestres, d'ennuy le chief enclin,
> Les deux os regardoient où il ot grant tintin
> De tabours et de trompes de maint cors yvorin,
> Dont cascune y avoit son frere et son cousin,
> Ou son loyal ami qu'el aimoit de cuer fin.
> S'eles furent dolentes, droit est par saint Martin!
> "Lasse!" dist la royne, "maint enfant orfenin
> Seront de cette guerre, çi a cruel destin,
> Ainz ne fut tel damage depuis le roi Pepin!"

The poet then describes the arrangement of the two armies, the different weapons of the combatants, and the courage which inflames them. But when we expect to see the battle begin, the author suddenly ends his story with these lines:—

> Jou qui tous seuls estoie desous un aubespin,
> Vis entre les deux os venir un pelerin,
> Qui tous les apaisa de plain hanap de vin.

So far the reference to the politics of the reign of king John is not very evident; but M. de la Rue tells us in conclusion, "At the head of the poem appears a miniature, where we see the two armies, and the pilgrim between them. As the chiefs who command them have their armorial bearings painted on their shields, we might by these heraldic signs discover with certainty the event on which the poet intended to throw ridicule. I only recognized the arms of the Bailleuls of Scotland, gueules with the shield hermine." *

* De la Rue, Essais historiques sur les Bardes, les Jongleurs, et les Trouvères Normands et Anglo-Normands, tom. iii. pp. 41—44.

ORM.

We meet with few traces of the use of the English language during the purely Anglo-Norman period, but there are one or two names of English poets of uncertain date, who perhaps wrote prior to the death of king John. The first of these was named Orm, or Ormin, of whom we know nothing further than that he had a brother named Walter, to whom he dedicates his book, a metrical harmony of the Gospels, written in English verse without rhyme, in apparently a northern dialect. He informs us that he and his brother were both Augustine monks; and that he had undertaken this harmony of the Gospels at his brother's request. The author excuses himself for inserting words which were not in the original in order sometimes to fill out the rhythm of his verse.—

Ic hafe sett her o þiss boc	I have placed here in this book
amang Goddspelless wordess,	among the words of the Gospel,
All þurrh me sellfenn, manig word	Entirely through myself, many a word
þe rime swa to fillenn ;	the rime so to complete ;
Acc þu shallt findenn þatt min word,	But thou shalt find that my word,
eggwhær þær itt iss ekedd,	in each place where it is added,
Magg hellpenn þa þatt redenn itt	May help those that read it
to sen and tunnderrstanndenn	to see and to understand
All þess te bettre hu þeggm birrþ	All the better how it becomes them
þe Goddspell unnderrstanndenn.	to understand the Gospel.
And forrþi trowwe ic þatt te birrþ	And therefore I trow that it becomes
wel þolenn mine wordess,	to bear well my words, [thee
Eggwhær þær þu shallt finndenn hemm	Wherever thou shalt find them
amang Goddspelless wordess,	among the words of the Gospel;
Forr whase mott to læwedd follc	For whoever undertakes to unlearned people [Gospels,
larspell off Goddspell tellenn,	to make a discourse out of the
He mott wel ekenn manig word	He must rightly add many a word
amang Goddspelless wordess.	among the words of the Gospel.

A peculiarity will be observed in the frequent duplication of the consonants at the end of a syllable, which gives a great importance to this manuscript in a philological point of view. The author, it appears, doubled the consonant after the short vowels in order to distinguish them from the long ones which were only followed by a single consonant, and he requests future scribes to copy his orthography without change. It may be stated that the MS. now preserved, which is in the Bodleian library, appears to be the author's autograph.

And whase wilenn shall þiss boc	And whoever shall wish this book
efft oþerr siþe writenn,	to write again another time,
Himm bidde icc þatt hett write rihht,	I pray him that he write it correctly,
swa summ þis bochimmtæcheþþ,	as this book teaches him,
All þwerrt utt affterr þatt itt iss	All throughout after what it is
uppo þiss firrste bisne,	in this first exemplar,
Wiþþ all swillc rime alls her iss sett;	With all such rime as here is placed,
wiþþ alse fele wordess;	with as many words;
And tatt he loke wel þatt he	And that he look well that he
An boc-staff write twiggess	write one letter twice
Eggwhær þær itt uppo þiss boc	Wherever it in this book
iss written o þatt wise;	is written in that manner;
Loke he wel þatt hett write swa,	Let him look well that he write it so,
forr he ne magg nohht elless	for he may not otherwise
On Ennglissh writenn rihht te word,	In English write correctly the word,
þatt wite he wel to soþe.	Let him well know that for truth.

He wished his book to be entitled Ormulum.—

þiss boc is nemmned Orrmulum,	This book is called Ormulum,
forrþi þæt Ormm itt wrohhte:	because Orm wrote it:
And itt iss wrohht off quaþþrigan,	And it is made quadripartite,
off Goddspell-bokes fowwre.	out of four Gospel-books.

The Ormulum deserves to be printed entire, as a most interesting and important monument of the history of our language. It has an early form of words, scarcely mixed with Norman, yet combined with a remarkable modernness of phraseology in parts, and of metre and rhythm generally. A leaf or two appear to have been torn from the end of

the manuscript since the old catalogue of the Bodleian manuscripts was printed, so that it is now slightly imperfect.

Edition.

Analecta Anglo-Saxonica . . . By Benjamin Thorpe, F.S.A. London, 1834, 8vo. pp. 171—178. Extracts from the Ormulum.

NICHOLAS DE GUILDFORD.

The name of Nicholas de Guildford occurs in a poem, of which copies are preserved among the manuscripts of the British Museum and of Jesus College, Oxford, in a way which would lead any one acquainted with the manner in which writers of the middle ages name themselves, to believe him to be the author. This poem consists of a pleading between an owl and a nightingale on their respective merits and demerits, until the wren interferes, and it is agreed that Nicholas de Guildford shall be taken as arbitrator. The nightingale says,—

" Bi-hote ich habbe, soth hit is	" I have promised, it is true,
That maister Nichole, that is wis,	That master Nicholas, who is wise,
Bi-tuxen us deme schulde;	Shall judge between us;
An ȝef ich wene that he wule;	If I think that he will;
Ah war mihte we hine finde?"	But where might we find him?"
The wranne sat in ore linde;	The wren sat on a branch,
" Hwat, nuȝte ȝe," cwath heo, " his hom?	" What, know ye not," says she, " his residence?
He wuneth at Porteshom,	He dwells at Portesham,
At one tune ine Dorsete,	At a town in Dorsetshire,
Bi thare see in ore ut-lete;	By the sea in an out-let;
Thar he demeth manie riȝte dom,	There he judges many right judgments,
An diht and writ mani wisdom,	And composes and writes much wisdom,
An thurh his muthe and thurh his honde	And through his mouth and through his hand
Hit is the betere into Scotlonde."	It is the better from thence to Scotland."

Of this Nicholas de Guildford we know nothing; but in another part of the poem mention is made of a king Henry, as being recently dead, which appears applicable only to Henry II.; so that the author probably lived in the latter part of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries.

That underwat the king Henri,
Jesus his soule do merci!

A John de Guildford is said to be mentioned in a lost leaf of the Jesus College manuscript, and to have been the author of a religious poem in the same volume, and he has been supposed to have been the brother or a near relation of Nicholas.

Editions.

The Owl and the Nightingale. Edited by Joseph Stevenson. London, 1838, 4to. Printed for the Roxburghe Club.

The Owl and the Nightingale: an early English poem attributed to Nicholas de Guildford, with some shorter poems from the same manuscript. Edited by Thomas Wright. London, 1843, 8vo. Printed for the Percy Society.

LAYAMON.

Layamon appears as the first translator into English of the British History published by Geoffrey of Monmouth, which he seems only to have known through the Anglo-Norman metrical version by Wace. Layamon tells us that he was a priest, that his father's name was Leovenath, and that his native place was Ernley on the Severn. And, from the terms in which he speaks of Henry II., we feel inclined to think that he wrote either at the end of his reign, or no long time after his death.

An preost wes on leoden,	There was a priest among people,
Laȝamon wes i-hoten,	was called Layamon,
he wes Leovenaðes sone,	he was the son of Leovenath,

liðe him beo Drihten,
he wonede at Ernleʒe
at æðelen are chirechen,
uppen Sevarne stawe.

may God be good to him;
he dwelt at Ernley
in the domain of a church
upon the Severn.

He tells us that one day it came into his thoughts that he would write a book on the deeds of the inhabitants of Britain, from their first arrival in the island.

Laʒamon gon liðen
wide ʒond þas leode,
and biwon þa æðela boc
þa he to bisne nom.
He nom þa Englisca boc
þa makede seint Beda;
an oþer he nom on Latin,
þe makede seinte Albin
and þe feire Austin
þe fulluh broute hider in.
Boc he nom þe þridde,
leide þer amidden,
þa makede a Frenchis clerc
Wace wes i-hoten,
þe wel couþe writen;
and he hoe ʒef þare æðelen
Alienor,
þe wes Henries quene,
þes heʒes kinges.
Laʒamon leide þeos boc,
þa leaf wende,
he heom leofliche biheold,
liþe him beo drihten,
fetheren he nom mid fingren,
and fiede on boc felle,
and þa soþe word
sette to-gadere,
and þa þre boc
þrumde to are.

Layamon travelled
far through the people,
and obtained the noble book
which he took for his exemplar.
He took the English book
which St. Bede made;
another he took in Latin,
which was made by St. Albin,
and the fair Austin
who brought baptism hither.
A third book he took,
and laid it there amidst,
which a French clerk made,
was called Wace,
who was very skilful in writing
and he offered it to the noble
Eleanora,
who was Henry's queen,
the powerful king.
Layamon laid this book,
turned over the leaf,
he looked at it with pleasure,
may the Lord be good to him,
he took pens with his fingers,
and fell zealously on the book,
and the true words
set together,
and the three books
collected into one.

It is now difficult to decide to what work Layamon refers as the book written by St. Albin and St. Austin. But his own work appears to be little more than a free translation of Wace's *Roman de Brut.* It begins with the Siege of Troy, and the dispersion of the Trojan adven-

turers, and is continued through the fabulous period to Cadwallader, the last of the British kings of the island. The language of Layamon belongs to the period of transition which is generally termed semi-Saxon, in which the Saxon phraseology and grammatical construction are still preserved, although the words are rapidly changing their forms and softening down their terminations. The versification is a mixture of the purer Saxon alliterative system with the rhyming verse which appears to have been brought in by the Normans, the alliterative lines being generally without rhyme, and the rhyming lines without alliteration. The above extracts will serve as a specimen of the alliteration of this poem, and we will only add a few lines as a specimen of the style of the rhyme, taken from the story of king Lear.

Gornoille was swiðe war,
Swa beoð wifmen wel i-hwær,
and seide æne lesinge
heore fædere þon king:
"Leofe fædere dure,
sua biole ie Godes are,
swa helpe me Apollin,
for min i-læfe is al on him,
þat levere þeo ært mo æne
þane þis world al clane;
and ȝet ic þe wille speken wit,
þeou ært leovere þene mi lif,
and þis ich sucge þe to seoðe,
þu mith me wel i-leve."

Gornoille was very cunning,
as women are everywhere,
and said a falsehood
to her father the king:
"Beloved father, dear,
as I pray for God's mercy,
so help me Apollin,
for my belief is all in him,
that thou alone art more precious to me
than all this world entire;
and yet I will speake with thee,
thou art dearer than my life,
and this I say to thee for truth,
thou mayest entirely believe me."

Layamon's poem is of considerable extent, and is chiefly valuable as a monument of the language at a period the literary productions of which written in English are very rare. A perfect copy is preserved in the British Museum (MS. Cotton. Calig. A. IX.), which appears to have been written early in the thirteenth century. Of a second manuscript of Layamon in the same collection (MS. Cotton. Otho C.

XIII.) a bundle of burnt leaves is all that remains. This latter manuscript is also of the thirteenth century, but more modern than, and in places abridged from, the other text.

Editions.

Analecta Anglo-Saxonica . . . . By Benjamin Thorpe. London, 1834. 8vo. pp. 143—170. The History of king Leir and his daughters. From the two texts of Layamon.

A complete edition of Layamon, from the two manuscripts, is understood to be in the press under the direction of the Society of Antiquaries, to be edited by Sir Frederick Madden.

STEPHEN DE LANGTON.

STEPHEN DE LANGTON is better known as a historical than as a literary character. We are ignorant of the date or place of his birth, but we know that he was sent at an early age to study at Paris, where he became successively professor of humanity and of theology, obtained the title of doctor, was made canon of Nôtre Dame, and was finally raised to the dignity of chancellor of the university, of which he was long afterwards regarded as one of the brightest ornaments. A great part of his life appears to have been spent in Paris, and at the beginning of the thirteenth century his fame was so great that pope Innocent III. invited him to Rome, and made him cardinal-priest of St. Chrisogonus.* In 1206 the see of Canterbury became vacant by the death of archbishop Hubert; and the monks, in secret and without the knowledge of king John, chose their prior named Reginald to occupy his place, and he was sent to the pope for confirmation. The king, learning what had taken place, forced

* See the Hist. Lit. de France, tom. xviii. p. 51.

the monks to make a new election, and John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, was elected archbishop of Canterbury. The pope, after hearing both sides, annulled the two elections, and by his own authority gave the see to Stephen de Langton. This was the primary cause of the long and obstinate dispute between king John and the court of Rome. During the interdict, the new archbishop appointed by the pope remained in France, chiefly in the monastery of Pontigny, where he devoted himself to literary labours.

In 1213, king John made his submission to the pope, and then Stephen de Langton repaired to England with other bishops who had been exiled; he was allowed to take possession of his see, and was appointed to absolve the king from the papal excommunication under which he laboured. Both the king and the pope were deceived in their expectations from the new primate; for from this moment he always appeared as the firm ally, and even as the foremost partizan, of the baronial party, and his name appears first among the witnesses to the great charter. When the pope condemned the charter, he ordered the archbishop of Canterbury to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against the barons who had extorted it, but the primate refused to obey. Innocent was already offended at Langton's boldness in protesting against the proceedings of his legate Nicholas; and the papal commissaries now suspended him from his see, and ordered him to repair to Rome to answer for his conduct. The pope confirmed this act, and only restored him to his rights on the condition of his not returning to England until the end of the troubles by which that country was then torn. He remained on the continent until after the accession of Henry III.

In 1219, the archbishop translated the body of Tho-

mas Becket; and his lavish expenditure on the ceremonies of that occasion is said to have involved the see in debts, of which it was not cleared until the fourth primate in succession from himself.* In 1220, he crowned Henry III., that ceremony having been previously performed in an irregular manner. At Canterbury he was occupied in rebuilding his palace, completing his cathedral, and reforming his monks and clergy. In 1222, he held at Oxford a provincial council, the decrees of which, composed by himself, are printed in the collections of Spelman and Wilkins. This meeting was rendered famous by one of the earliest known instances of execution for heresy, which is not much to the archbishop's credit. An impostor who pretended to be Jesus Christ, and who showed scars on his hands, feet, and sides, which he said were those inflicted on him by the Jews, was condemned by the council, and put to death on a cross; and a deacon of the church, condemned at the same time, was burnt.†

In 1223, Stephen de Langton again placed himself at the head of the barons, to demand the confirmation and execution of the great charter. He died on the 9th of July, 1228, at Slindon in Sussex; and his body was carried to Canterbury cathedral, and buried in the chapel of St. Michael, where his tomb is still seen.

The works written by or attributed to Stephen de Langton are voluminous, but they consist chiefly of commentaries on the Scriptures, and, were it not for his political celebrity, he would not hold a very prominent place among the Anglo-Norman writers. A rather early manuscript in the Bodleian library sums up the literary labours of Stephen, by stating that "while at Paris he divided the bible into chapters and verses (*quotavit*), he wrote

* Henry de Knihton, de event. Angl. ap. Dec. Script. col. 2430.

† Matth. Westm. Flores Hist. p. 112, &c.

expositions on the books of Kings, composed a life of king Richard, and left many other volumes the produce of his industry."* Stephen de Langton has been said to have been the author of the division of the books of the Old and New Testament into chapters and verses; but others have disputed his claims, and attributed this mode of division to a French scholar named Hugh de St. Cher.† The authority of the Oxford manuscript just quoted may, however, be considered as giving some weight to Stephen's claims.

The greatest portion of the works of Stephen de Langton consists of commentaries, not only on the books of Kings, but on nearly all the books of the Old Testament, distinguished in general by their scholastic subtilties. It is hardly necessary to enumerate them all, or the other theological writings ascribed to this writer; copies of most of them are found in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, but they have never been printed. In the Harl. MS. No. 104, in the British Museum, there is a copy of Langton's *Expositio libri duodecim prophetarum*.

The Life of Richard I., by Stephen de Langton, is not known to exist, but it is quoted by several of the early chroniclers. The old biographers have also attributed to Stephen Langton a history of Mohammed (*de factis Mahumedis*), but without any apparent authority. A life of Thomas Becket has likewise been wrongly attributed to him. His different synodic constitutions are printed, with some letters, in the collection by Wilkins. The letter to king John, with the monarch's reply, will be found in the Spi-

* A. D. MCCXXVIII. Magister Stephanus de Langnetona archiepiscopus Cantuariensis obiit, qui Bibliam apud Parisium quotavit, libros Regum exposuit, vitam regis Ricardi dictavit, multaque alia industriæ suæ volumina post se reliquit. MS. Bodl. 487. fol. 100.

† Hist. Lit. de Fr. tom. xviii. p. 63.

cilegium of D'Achery. Among his other theological writings, the most remarkable are the *Sermones de Tempore et de Sanctis,* which are preserved in manuscript.

Stephen de Langton also enjoyed some reputation as a Latin poet, which appears to have rested chiefly on his *Hexameron,* a poem in hexameters on the six days of the Creation, seen by Leland, but now lost, unless it be concealed in some of the continental libraries. A poem by this prelate is preserved in the Lambeth library, under the title of *Carmen de contemptu mundi.* But perhaps the most singular of all Langton's writings is a brief sermon preserved in a manuscript in the British Museum (MS. Arundel, No. 292, fol. 38, r°), in which he takes a stanza of a French popular song, and gives a theological comment or moralization on each phrase. This piece is such a singular production that it deserves to be given entire, as an early specimen of a very remarkable class of literature.

Sermo magistri Stephani de Langeduna archiepiscopi Cant. de sancta Maria.

Benedictione appostolica
benedicatur gens ecclesiastica,
fugiat a nobis fraus diabolica,
et maneat semper fides catholica.
Ille qui natus est ex stirpe Davitica
perducat nos omnes ad bona et vera cantica.

Bele Aliz matin leva,
sun cors vesti e para,
enz un verger s'en entra,
cink flurettes y truva,
un chapelet fet en a
de rose flurie;
pur Deu trahez vus en là,
vus ki ne amez mie;

Legimus, quod de omni verbo otioso reddituri sumus Deo rationem in die judicii. Et ideo debemus errantes corrigere, errores reprimere, prava in bonis èxponere, vanitatem ad veritatem reducere.

Cum dico *bele Aliz,* scitis quod tripudium primo ad vanitatem inventum

fuit. Sed in tripudio tria sunt necessaria, scilicet vox sonora, nexus brachiorum, strepitus pedum. Ut ergo possimus Deo tripudiare hæc tria in nobis habeamus, vocem sonoram, i. e. prædicationem sanctam, gratam Deo et hominibus; nexus brachiorum, i. e. geminam caritatem, scilicet dilectionem Dei et proximi; strepitus pedum, i. e. opera concordantia nostræ prædicationi, ad imitationem domini nostri Jhesu Christi, qui primo cœpit bona facere et postea docere. Deinde videamus quæ sit *bele Aliz*. Hæc est illa *bele Aliz* de qua sic dicitur, "Speciosa specialis, preciosa ut gemma, rutilans quasi Lucifer inter sidera," et alibi, "tota pulchra es amica mea, et macula non est in te." *Ceste est la bele Aliz, ceste est la flur, ceste est le lis*, de qua sic dicitur, "sicut lilium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias." Et dicitur hoc nomen Aliz, ab a, quod est sine, et lis litis, quasi sine lite, sine reprehensione, sine mundana fæce. Et hæc est regina justitiæ, mater misericordiæ. *Ceste est la bele Aliz, ceste este la flur, ceste est le lis.* Sequitur *Matin se leva, sun cors vesti e para;* unde habemus, "Adorna thalamum tuum Syon." Ista *bele Aliz*, i. e. beata virgo Maria, adornavit thalamum suum, i. e. mentis conscientiam, quando concepit regem cœlorum et dominum. Sequitur, *En un verger s'en entra.* Ista *bele Aliz*, de qua sic dicitur "Est virgo, virga, virgultum." Virgo unde habemus: Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium; virga: Egredietur virga de radice Jesse; virgultum cujus fructum agnovimus per annunciationem angeli dicentis: Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui. Sequitur *Cink flurettes i truva.* Quinque flores invenit in virgulto isto ista *bele Aliz*, qui nec ardore arescunt, nec calore marcescunt, nec imbribus suffocantur. Quæ sunt hii flores? fides, spes, caritas, virginitas, humilitas. Quicunque habebit hos flores in se, habebit coronam de lapide preciosa. Sequitur *Un chapelet fet en a, de rose flurie. Par le chapelet*, debemus intelligere coronam auream, quam imposuit Deus super caput ejus quando constituit eam reginam reginarum. Sequitur *Pur Deu treez vus en là, vus ke ne amez mie.* Quibus dictum est hoc, *treez vus en là, vus ke ne amez mie?* hæreticis, paganis, et falsis Christianis, qui non credunt Christi resurrectionem, et qui blasphemant eum. Talibus dictum est, *treez vus en là, vus ke ne amez mie*, i. e. Ite maledicti in ignem æternum, qui præparatus est diabolo et angelis ejus. Esurivi enim, et non dedistis mihi manducare; sitivi, et non dedistis mihi bibere; nudus fui, et non cooperuistis me; hospes fui, et non suscepistis me; infirmus fui, et non visitastis me; in carcere fui, et non venistis ad me. Talibus dictum est hoc, *treez vus en là, ki ne amez mie*, i. e, Ite maledicti in ignem æternum, qui præparatus est diabolo et angelis ejus. Per prædicta patet, quod ista est *bele Aliz*, de qua prædiximus: est regina justitiæ, mater misericordiæ, quæ portavit regem cœlorum et dominum, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat Deus. Amen.

GERVASE BISHOP OF SEEZ.

This writer was, it appears, a native of Chichester, and he has been confounded by the writers of the Histoire Littéraire de France* and others with Gervase of Chichester, the friend of Thomas Becket. He was educated in France, where he entered the order of Prémontré, and became first prior, and then, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, abbot of St. Just, in the diocese of Beauvais. In 1205 he was abbot of Thenailles, near Vervins, in the diocese of Laons; and in February, 1210, he was further promoted to be abbot of Prémontré, and thus became the head of his order. In 1220 he was appointed to the vacant bishoprick of Seez, with the consent of Henry III. of England, and he was consecrated at Rome by the pope on the 18th of July. He occurs, as bishop of Seez, taking a part in various public transactions, until 1228, in which year, on the 10th or 20th of February, he died. He was interred in the church of the abbey of Silly. He is said to have written his own epitaph in the following words:—

> Anglia me genuit, nutrivit Gallia; sanctus
> Justus, Thenolium, Præmonstratumque dedere
> Abbatis nomen; sed mitram Sagia; tumbam
> Hic locus; oretur ut detur spiritus astris.

The only book which can be ascribed with any degree of certainty to this Gervase is a collection of letters, amounting in number to 137 in the more complete edition. Although an Englishman by birth, Gervase belongs as a writer rather to France than to this country, and his letters relate exclusively to the ecclesiastical affairs of the continent.

* Hist. Lit. de Fr. tom. xviii. pp. 41—49.

Editions.

Gervasii Epistolæ. Mons, 1662. 4to. Some copies bear the imprint of Valenciennes, 1663.

Monumenta Sacræ Antiquitatis. Edited by C. L. Hugo. Estival, 1725, fol. tome I. pp. 1—124.

ALEXANDER NECKAM.

Alexander Neckam, sometimes called, from the place of his birth, *Alexander de Sancto Albano,* was one of the most remarkable scholars of the commencement of the thirteenth century. He was born at St. Alban's, in September 1157, on the same night that king Richard I. was born at Windsor; and it appears that Alexander's mother was chosen as the nurse of the royal child, and that she suckled the prince with her right breast, and her own infant with the left.* He received his earlier education in his native town, and seems to have made rapid progress in learning, for it is stated that he was soon entrusted with the government of the school of Dunstable (dependent on the abbey of St. Alban's), and we find him, so early as 1180, when he could be only twenty-three years of age, a distinguished professor in the university of Paris. He returned to England in 1187, and is said to have resumed his place in the school of Dunstable, which he held for one year, and then became desirous of entering one of the monastic orders. His wishes, we are told, were first directed to the abbey of St. Alban's, and he made an application couched in the following terms:—*Si vis, veniam; sin autem,* &c.;

* This anecdote is preserved in an extract, in one of James's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, taken from a manuscript formerly in the possession of the earl of Arundel.—Mense Septembri natus est anno MCLVII. regi filius Ricardus nomine apud Windleshore: Eadem nocte natus est Alexander Necham apud sanctum Albanum, cujus mater fovit Ricardum ex mamilla dextra, sed Alexandrum fovit ex mamilla sua sinistra. (See Tanner.) The name is often spelt *Nequam*, and *Necham*, in Latin MSS.

to which the abbot replied, *si bonus es, venias; si nequam, nequaquam.* It is said that Alexander Neckam, offended at the apparent pun upon his own name, immediately entered into a different monastic order, and became an Augustine canon in the monastery of Cirencester.* There seems to be some room for doubt whether he was not afterwards for some time prior of St. Nicholas, at Exeter; but we know with more certainty that in 1213 he was elected abbot of Cirencester.† According to the best authorities he died in 1217, at Kemsey, in Worcestershire, and was buried at Worcester.‡

His name was frequently played upon by his contemporaries, and a pun found its way even into the epitaph which is said to have been inscribed upon his tomb:—

> Eclipsim patitur sapientia, sol sepelitur;
> Cui si par unus, minus esset flebile funus:
> Vir bene disertus et in omni more facetus;
> Dictus erat *Nequam*, vitam duxit tamen æquam.

Alexander Neckam appears under the character of a universal scholar: he had made proficiency in the whole circle of science, including the canon law, medicine, and theology. His language is distinguished by considerable elegance and purity of diction, and he was certainly one of the best Latin poets of his age. In most of his writings he exhibits an evident propensity to grammatical studies, and a considerable portion of his works belong directly to this class, although Roger Bacon speaks somewhat strongly of the errors in his grammatical doctrines.§ The titles of Neckam's chief grammatical treatises are, *Isagogicum de Grammatica*, or an introduction to grammar; *Corroga-*

* This anecdote is given by Boston of Bury, in Tanner. It is very probably apochryphal.

† Annal. Dunstap. quoted in Tanner.

‡ Annal. Wigorn. ap. Wharton, A. S. vol. i. p. 483. Annal. Waverl. p. 184.

§ Roger Bacon, as quoted by Tanner.

tiones de tropis et figuris; Repertorium vocabulorum; Distinctiones verborum; De accentu in mediis syllabis. Some of these are preserved in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and are interesting as showing the form of teaching in the schools of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There is a copy of the first in the British Museum. Neckam was the author of the first of a class of tracts, common enough in later times, for teaching the scholars to remember the Latin names of different articles, by connecting them together in a descriptive narrative. Of this tract, which bears generally the title *De utensilibus*, there is an imperfect copy in the British Museum (MS. Cotton. Titus D. xx), but Tanner refers to other copies as existing in Caius College and Peterhouse libraries at Cambridge. It is not only a curious monument of the history of scholastic teaching, but it affords much information on the manners of the time. The author begins by describing the different apartments of a house from the kitchen to the bedroom, the furniture, and the implements used in each, and the whole range of domestic economy, with enumerations of different kinds of provisions, articles of dress, &c.; he goes in the same way through the different parts of a castle, with its stores, arms, and soldiers; next we have farming, the different trades and professions, &c. The words are accompanied by an interlinear version in French, and each paragraph is followed by a grammatical commentary, which is evidently the composition of some later teacher of Neckam's school. We give as a specimen of this work the paragraph on Carts and Carters, with the interlinear gloss and the commentary.

caretter equum trahentem bigam cuvele
Veredus veredarium ducturus, cucullam habeat capu-
frogge maunché
cio armatam grisio, et collobium habeat manubeatum, ut

avera plu isent aner muler
manus cum libuerit exeant, vel si agasonis vel mulionis
agulyun ecchurge
officium explere velit, aculeo fruatur, aut flagello, aut
idem bater i. flexibili
scorpione equos cædat, vel lenta virga aurem regat, unde
carette capit de ço
auriga nomen debito modo sortitur, vel eo quod aurem
equi regat.

Hic veredus, di. Abutitur autem hoc vocabulo veredus; est enim veredus, ut dicit Petrus Elyas, equus trahens bigam, et dicitur quasi vehens rhedam. Est autem rheda *charethte*, unde in Alexandriade

Suspirant plaustra veredus.

A quo hic veredarius, i. ductor equi. Sed potest dici quod auctor inspexit aliam originem hujus nominis *veredus*, quod derivatur a vereor, reris, eo quod veretur ruinam rhedæ, et sic potest sumi productoria, a quo hic veredarius pro equo ducto. Hæc cuculla, læ, a cucullo, las, et est vocalis derivatio. Libet, bat, libuit, a quo hæc libitina, sc. *bere*, per contrarium eo quod minime libet, unde Horatius,

nisi quem Libitina sacrarat.

Hic agaso, ductor asinorum, ab ago, is, et asinus, ni. Hic mulio, onis, custos mulorum, a mulo, &c.

The most elegant of Neckam's poems is one on the monastic character, which appears to have been very popular, for it occurs frequently in manuscripts. It is given sometimes anonymously, and has been ascribed to Aldhelm, and to Anselm, though it evidently describes the manners of the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.* The author begins by a simple expression of what ought to constitute the monkish character:

Quid deceat monachum, vel qualis debeat esse,
    Qui jubet ut dicam porrigat ipse manum.
Grex sanctus, monachi, vobis hæc scribimus, hæc vos
    Instruit, hæc vitæ pagina pandit iter.
Nec nos, dilecti fratres, contemnite, si quid
    Nostra pium, si quid nostra salubre monent.

* Our extracts are given from MS. Reg. 8 A. XXI. This poem is printed in some editions of the works of Anselm.

Sæpius ingentes lux pellit parva tenebras;
  Rivulus et dulces sæpe ministrat aquas.
Non tonsura facit monachum, non horrida vestis,
  Sed virtus animi perpetuusque rigor;
Mens humilis, mundi contemptus, vita pudica,
  Sanctaque sobrietas, hæc faciunt monachum.

The poet proceeds to warn the monastic orders against giving way to the love of pleasure, to envy, ambition, and the other sins then too prevalent in society, and the poem becomes in the sequel a declamation against the corrupt manners of the age, and especially against the female sex. He thus describes the cares to which power and worldly honours subject those who possess them—

O dilectores mundi falsique potentes,
  Ecquid terrenas esse putatis opes?
Quid quoque mundanos quos afficiatis honores,
  Quorum perpetuus est sollicitudo comes?
Omnia præcipitem formidant ardua casum,
  Et magnis semper vis aliena nocet.
Sæpius alta ruit ventorum flatibus arbor,
  Tuta humilis mirtus, tuta mirica manet.
Bellica cum celsas subvertit machina turres,
  Nil nocet exiguæ pauperis illa casæ.
Et rapit obstantes fluvii violentia moles,
  Plana satis placido permanet illa gradu.
Montes et scopulos sævi maris obruit unda,
  Ad placidum littus mitior unda venit.
Aerias Alpes nivibus candescere scimus,
  Frigoribusque premi perpetuoque gelu;
Illic et rabies ventorum plurima sævit;
  Temperiem gratam proxima vallis habet.
Sic vobis nunquam desunt adversa, potentes,
  Non est pax vobis ulla nec ulla quies.
O quantos regum patiuntur corda tumultus!
  Quamque procellosis motibus ipsa fremunt!
Inter regales epulas variosque paratus
  Tabescunt curis sollicitoque metu.

The following lines give us a curious picture of a lady's toilette in the twelfth century:—

Fœmina, fax Sathanæ, gemmis radiantibus, auro,
  Vestibus, ut possit perdere, compta venit.
Quod natura sibi sapiens dedit illa reformat;
  Quicquid et accepit dedecuisse putat.

Pingit acu et fuco liventes reddit ocellos,
    Sic oculorum, inquit, gratia major erit.
Est etiam teneras aures quæ perforat, ut sic
    Aut aurum aut carus pendeat inde lapis.
Altera jejunat mense, minuitque cruorem,
    Ut prorsus quare palleat ipsa facit.
Nam quæ non pallet, sibi rustica quæque videtur;
    Hic decet, hic color est verus amantis, ait.
Hæc quoque diversis sua sordibus inficit ora;
    Sed quare melior quæritur arte color?
Arte supercilium rarescit, rursus et arte
    In minimum mammas colligit ipsa suas.
Arte quidem videas nigros flavescere crines;
    Nititur ipsa suo membra movere loco.
Sic fragili pingit totas in corpore partes,
    Ut quicquid nota est displicuisse putes.

Among other poems of Neckam which appear to be lost, we have the titles *Ad viros religiosos* (perhaps the one described above); *De conversione Magdalenæ:* &c. He translated into Latin elegiacs the fables of Æsop, six of which have been printed by M. Robert from an imperfect manuscript at Paris.* But the most important poem of this author is a treatise on science, written also in elegiac verse, and comprised in ten distinctions, or books.† He begins by treating of the creation, then of the orders of angels, and proceeds to describe the stars, and thus sums up the different opinions concerning their substance:—

Ad stellas redeo, quæ sunt solatia noctis,
    Delicias gaudet victis (?) habere suas.
Lux, species, levitas, scintillans splendor et ardor,
    Quod sit in his virtus ignea, nonne probat?
Vulgus et Empedocles, Socrates, Achademia, mensis,
    Quod stellarum sit ignis origo docent.
Thalesque et liquidas ausus Maro dicere flammas,
    Quod sit eis mater Thetyos unda volunt.
Summus Aristoteles longe secessit ab istis,
    Doctor Athenarum, dux, caput, orbis honos.

* Fables Inédites, Paris, 1825, tom. i. pp. 109, 124, 194, 205, 237, 260.

† A copy of this poem, from which we quote, is in the British Museum, MS. Reg. 8 E. IX.

Quod stellis sit origo potens essentia quinta
    Censuit, ingenio cedere cuncta putans.

The remainder of the first book relates to the planets, and to the laws of the heavenly bodies. In the second book, the author treats of the elements, and especially of the air, which leads him to describe the birds, as peculiarly appertaining to that element. The following is Neckam's poetical description of the parrot:—

Psittace, te nutrit, te fertilis India gaudet
    Inter delicias connumerare suas.
Histrio nobilis es, nobis avibusque ferisque
    Illudis, varios exprimis ore sonos.
Risum mentiris, hinnitum fingis, amaros
    Gaudes jocunda voce referre sales.
Intenso corpus ornat natura nitore,
    Luminibus color hic gratior esse solet.
Puniceus colli torques rutilare virorem
    Cogit, et in signum nobilitatis adest.
Rostrum duritie præstat, vertexque flagella
    Cum tot sustineat, nonne fatetur idem?
Verba, minas, ictus, audit, formidat, abhorret,
    Doctorisque sui scit nova jussa sequi.
Ne tinguatur aquis reddit sollertia cautum,
    Hinc est suspectus aeris humor ei.
Incolit arva Phari non expectantia nimbos,
    Et montana quibus gratia roris abest.
Nempe colit montes famosos morte Saulis,
    Et Jonathæ nota est mæsta querela David.
Præ cunctis avibus confertur latior isti
    Lingua potens propriis edere verba sonis.
Ingenuus præstat quivis abjectior ales,
    Contentus digitis dicitur esse tribus.

The third book treats of water, and of fountains endowed with wonderful virtues, of all the different species of fishes, with a description of the principal rivers and the great towns situated upon them in France, England, and Ireland. The subjects of the fourth book are fire, the winds, snow, rain, meteorology, and various other matters connected with natural philosophy. In the

fifth book we have a dissertation on the form of the earth, and a geographical description of it, with more detailed descriptions of France and England, in which he breaks out into the following warm eulogy of his native land:—

Ad natale solum, quod Plinius Albion olim
  Dictum commemorat, flectere lora libet.
Dehinc Bruti tellus est dicta Britannia major,
  Nam minor Armoricos gaudet habere sinus.
Exsuperat cunctas hæc insula fertilitate,
  Et spatio quævis insula cedit ei.
Ditat eam natura potens flavoque metallo
  Et stagno: reliquas quis numeraret opes?
Nulla magis regio studiis est apta Minervæ,
  Arcadiæ vincit pascua, rura Phari.
Dives frumento, lana, sale, melle, metallis,
  Flumina dant pisces, dat mare, silva feras.
Tam Lybiæ volucres quam fasidos Anglia ditant,
  Mensas sæpe tuas transeo cortis aves.
In mensa nusquam vultus jocundior, hospes
  Gratior, aut cultus lautior esse solet.
Ornatus mensæ nequit exquisitior esse,
  Gaudet in obsequiis officiosa manus.
Anglicus a puero, velut id natura ministret,
  Aut jubeat, donat munera digna dari.
Erigitur porrecta manum stans curva senectus,
  Ad dandum manus hic nulla senilis erit.
Siderei vultus hic munificentia regnat,
  Hic nescit munus vendere lenta manus.
Absque mora detur munus sine murmure, vultus
  Lætitiæ mentis nuncius esse solet.
Condit sed geminat donum dandi modus, ipsum
  Spes crucians animum degenerare facit.
Præ reliquis hanc exercet venatio gentem,
  Cederet Orion et Meleager ei.
Ingenium dat ei genius subtile, quod artes
  Mechanicas subdit ingenuasque sibi.

The sixth book makes us acquainted with the interior of the earth, and with metals, precious stones, their natures and qualities, &c. The seventh is devoted to the medical qualities of different plants, and the eighth is occupied with fruit, seed, &c. The ninth contains the natural history of

animals, with observations on the senses, brain, &c. of man. The tenth treats of the seven arts, and on science in general, and ends with the following account of the author :—

Quod si forte fores claudat tibi Claudia, claustrum
　　Martyris Albani sit tibi tuta quies.
Hic locus ætatis nostræ primordia novit,
　　Annos felices, lætitiæque dies.
Hic locus ingenuis pueriles imbuit annos
　　Artibus, et nostræ laudis origo fuit.
Hic locus insignes magnosque creavit alumnos,
　　Felix eximio martyre, gente, sitū.
Militat hic Christo noctuque dieque labori
　　Indulgens sancto religiosa cohors.
Hæc te suscipiet placito gratoque favore,
　　Optabit tutor quilibet esse tuus.
Hic locus hospitibus sese debere fatetur,
　　Quos admittit honor, janitor iste loci.
Hortarer te Parisius partesque remotas
　　Visere, sed terret me maris unda tumens.
Vix aliquis locus est dicta mihi notior urbe,
　　Qua modici pontis parva columna fui.
Hic artes didici docuique fideliter, inde
　　Accessit studio lectio sacra meo :
Audivi canones, Hypocratem cum Galieno,
　　Jus civile mihi displicuisse neges.
Si suspecta tibi loca sunt solennia, nostræ
　　Intra septa domus tutior esse potes.
Urbs vires experta tuas, Gurmunde, per annos
　　Septem, ni fallor, vix tibi deesse volet.
Non moriar totus dum tu servaris in esse,
　　Cum sis ingenii gloria magna mei.

Neckam's scientific works are not very numerous; the one of most importance, and (to judge by the number of manuscripts) the most popular, was the treatise *De naturis rerum.** The earlier part of this prose treatise is in a great measure a paraphrase of the poem last described, with however much amplification and addition. As in the poem, the first book commences with an account of the creation, of heaven, of the planetary bodies, and of the elements, which latter subject leads to a description of the

* The manuscript from which we describe this work is MS. Reg. 12 G. XI. *Incipit opus magistri Alexandri de Sancto Albano de naturis rerum.*

different kinds of birds. The second book treats of fountains, &c. of fishes, plants, stones, serpents, animals, and of arts and trades. Neckam's natural history is here enlivened by many anecdotes of birds and animals, and he gives us from time to time curious notices of the method of teaching then practised in the university of Paris. He adopts the fashion of his age in giving frequent moralizations and spiritual applications of his scientific facts. In his chapter on buildings, he says that the walls of a building ought to be made to lean from each other (so as to represent radii converging to the centre of the earth), as being the strongest form, because, as he says, heavy bodies naturally tend towards a centre; this is a curious anticipation of the doctrine of gravitation.* Sometimes we are favoured with the popular notions of the age, as in the account of the spots in the moon, which we may give as an example of the style of this book.

De macula lunæ.

Nonnulli sollicitantur unde umbratilis quædam macula in luna videatur. Placuit ergo quibusdam lunare corpus esse cavernosum, ita quod cavernæ lunæ lucis solaris radios in se non admittant. Aliis visum est corpus lunæ non esse rotundum, sed in quibusdam sui partibus esse eminentius, in aliis depressius. Partes igitur depressæ in modum convallium beneficium lucis solaris non sentiunt. Hæc autem opinio prædictæ opinioni collimitanea est. Volunt alii lunare corpus in sui natura obscurum esse, ita ut quædam ejus partes obscuriores naturaliter sunt aliis, unde et illuminationi non sunt obnoxiæ. Sed sciendum est in signum et instructionem nostri hoc factum esse. Merito enim prævaricationis primorum parentum omnium planetarum et stellarum fulgor dispendium claritatis sustinuit. Luna vero quæ citima terris est, et aspectibus humanis familiarius occurrens, maculum in se detinuit, ad denotandum quod quamdiu in statu vitæ præsentis currimus, macula

* Oportet namque necessario ut quanto amplius parietes a terra surgunt, tanto major distantia inter ipsos reperiatur. Cum enim omne ponderosum naturalitur tendat ad centrum, intellige parietes ad centrum terræ tendere, et reperies ipsos parietes angularitur sibi sociari. Videsne igitur quonammodo radii ex modiolo bigæ procedentes majori et minori distantia se jungantur usque dum rotæ ipsi maritentur? Sic et parietes elevantur, cœli convexa respicientes. MS. Reg. 12 G. XI. fol. 79, v°.

aliqua in sancta ecclesia est. Cum autem omnes planetæ cum stellis etiam stabunt, quasi emeriti, stabilis erit status noster, et non erit aliqua macula in luna materiali, sicut nec in sancta ecclesia. Forsitan simplex lector non advertit quid vocem lunæ maculam. Nonne novisti quid vulgus vocet rusticum in luna portantem spinas? unde quidam vulgariter loquens ait,—

> Rusticus in luna, quem sarcina deprimit una,
> Monstrat per spinas nulli prodesse rapinas.

Quotiens igitur umbram illam dispersam conspicis, revoca ad memoriam transgressionem primorum parentum, et ingemisce, &c.

The three other books of this treatise, which is complete in five, are devoted to moral subjects.

Neckam's theological works are very numerous, and somewhat varied in their character, consisting of rather extensive commentaries on the scriptures, in which his love of grammatical investigation is conspicuous, of a number of essays on different subjects connected with divinity, and of eighteen sermons. He also published commentaries on some of the writings of Aristotle, on the Metamorphoses of Ovid, and on a portion of Martianus Capella. It does not appear that any of the numerous works of Alexander Neckam, with the exception, perhaps, of the poem on monastic life, and a few fragments, have ever been printed.

JOSCELIN DE BRAKELONDE.

Among the historians of the period now under our consideration, mention must be made of Joscelin de Brakelonde. Mr. Gage Rokewode has collected all the known facts of his life. He was a native of Bury St. Edmund's, became a monk of the abbey in 1173, was chaplain to the prior in 1182, and was soon afterwards promoted to be the chaplain of the abbot Samson, with whom he lived on terms of great intimacy, and the history of whose abbacy

occupies the greater part of his book. In 1198 and 1200 he did the honours of the abbey as guest-master; and in 1211 he held the office of almoner.

The only known work by Joscelin is a history of the affairs of the abbey of St. Edmund's during his own time, *i.e.* from 1173 to 1201. The author appears to have been well acquainted with the common Latin authors, but his latinity is singularly unclassical and inelegant. The merit of the book arises simply from the circumstance that it is a plain and unvarnished statement of facts, and that the writer, being personally interested in the narrative, gives much more of minute detail than the historians of his class generally indulge in, and has thus furnished us with a remarkable picture of monastic life. The following extract will illustrate his style and the peculiar character of his history.

In diebus illis celerarius, sicut cæteri officiales, appruntavit denarios a Perneto Judæo, inconsulto conventu, super cartam supradicto sigillo signatam. Cum autem excrevit debitum usque ad sexaginta libras, summonitus est conventus ad solvendum debitum celerarii. Depositus est celerarius; licet allegaret gravamen suum, dicens quod susceperat tribus annis hospites omnes in domo hospitum ad præceptum abbatis, sive abbas fuerit præsens sive absens, quos debeat suscipere abbas secundum consuetudinem abbatiæ. Substitutus est magister Dionisius, qui per providentiam suam et cautelam minoravit debitam lx. librarum usque ad xxx. libras; de quo debito reddidimus xxx[ta] marcas, quas Benedictus de Blakeham dedit conventui pro maneriis Neutone et Wepstede tenendis; sed carta Judæi usque hodie remansit apud Judæum, in qua continentur xxvi. libræ de katallo et de debito celerarii. Tertio die postquam magister Dionisius fuit celerarius, ducti sunt tres milites cum armigeris suis usque in domum hospitum, ut ibi reficerentur, abbate domi existente et in thalamo suo residente. Cum autem audisset magnanimus ille Æacides, nolens perdere in bailiva sua, sicut cæteri, surrexit et accepit claves cellarii, et ducens secum milites illos usque in aulam abbatis, veniensque ad abbatem, dixit: "Domine, bene novistis quod consuetudo abbatiæ est, ut milites et laici recipiantur in curia vestra, si abbas domi fuerit; nec volo nec possum recipere hospites qui ad vos pertinent. Alioquin, accipite claves cellarii vestri, et alium constituite celerarium pro beneplacito vestro." Audiens hoc abbas, volens vel nolens recepit illos milites, et semper postea milites et laicos recepit secundum antiquam consuetudinem, et adhuc recipiuntur, abbate domi existente.

It appears that Joscelin also wrote a book on the miracles pretended to have been performed by St. Robert, a boy alleged to have been martyred by the Jews at Bury St. Edmund's in 1181.

Edition.

Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda, de rebus gestis Samsonis abbatis monasterii Sancti Edmundi. Nunc primum typis mandata curante Johanne Gage Rokewode. Londini: sumptibus Societatis Camdenensis. 1840. 4to.

Translation.

Monastic and Social Life in the Twelfth Century, as exemplified in the Chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond, from A.D. 1173 to 1202. Translated from the original Latin, as printed by the Camden Society. With Notes, Introduction, &c. by T. E. Tomlins, Esq. Editor of "Lyttleton's Tenures," &c. London, 1843. 8vo.

GILBERTUS ANGLICUS.

The earliest English medical writer is generally known by this name, though some of the old bibliographers give him that of Legle (? L'Aigle), but on what authority does not appear.* We know little or nothing of his history; but it is said that he went to study in the medical schools in Italy, and that, after gaining considerable reputation there, he returned to his native country, and obtained the appointment of physician to Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, who held that see from 1193 to 1206. Bale and others represent Gilbert as flourishing in 1210.

Gilbert is best known by a compendium of the medical doctrines of his age, in seven books, in which he has embodied in an orderly form the opinions of the various medical authorities then in repute on the different diseases

* Tanner places him in his Bibliotheca under the name *Leglæus.*

of the human body, and on the various modes of treating them. In the first book he treats of fevers; in the second, of diseases of the head and nerves; in the third, of diseases of the eyes and face; in the fourth, of diseases incident to the external members; in the fifth, of internal diseases, which are also continued through the sixth book; while the seventh treats of diseases of the generative system, and of gout, cancers, diseases of the skin, poisons, hydrophobia, &c. The first chapter will explain the general system of the division of diseases followed in this book, and will at the same time serve as a specimen of the style of this our first writer on medical science.

A morbis universalibus propositi nostri intentio est inchoare, et dictiones particulares actorum magistrorumque in opere medicationis expertissimas aggregare, sumendo principium a morbi quadam divisione quæ est quum morbus alius est a natura immutata consimilium et alius a natura immutata continuationis. Utrorumque vero subjungenda est alia divisio, quum omnium horum quidam est universalis, quidam particularis. Et universalis triplex est, quum aut universaliter omnia membra affligit, aut quia omnia genera morborum simul in eo reperiuntur, ut in apostemate, aut duo tantum, ut in solutione continuitatis. Et morbus universalis ex immutata natura consimilium est, ut febris; et morbus universalis ex immutata natura officialium est, ut quibusdam placet ophiales, scilicet incubus. Et morborum universalium quidam sunt inficientes, et quidam non. Et inficientium quidam interius consurgunt, ut lepra et variolæ et morbili et scabies, quoniam totam corrumpunt habitudinem. Et quidam extra adveniunt, aut per eorum assumptionem aut obviationem, ut venena et morsus venenosorum animalium. Et morbi particulares similiter dividuntur, quum aut sunt ex immutata natura consimilium, ut dolor capitis, aut immutata natura officialium, ut paralisis. Primo autem erit sermo noster de universalibus, et inter hos de his prius qui ex malitia sunt complexionis diversæ, ut de febribus, quia sunt digniores et generaliores et periculosiores et frequentiores; deinceps autem de particularibus, et inter hos de morbis communibus, tam ex solutione continuitatis quam de his qui ex omni genere concurrunt secundum situm membrorum, quibus adveniunt, a superioribus incipientes per ordinem sermonem exquisitum constituentes, in inferioribus, Deo adjuvante, finiemus.

This book is sometimes found under the title of *Practica Medicinæ,* which led Leland into the mistake of ascribing to Gilbert a different book under that title.

It is of frequent occurrence among the manuscripts of our public libraries. Bale and Pits have ascribed some other treatises to him, but apparently on doubtful authority. A Commentary on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates is supposed, with better reason, to have been written by him; and another Comment on Ægidius *De urinis* is found under the name of Gilbertus Anglicus among the manuscripts of Merton College, Oxford.

Edition.

Compendium medicine Gilberti anglici tam morboruȝ vniuersaliū quā particularium nondum medicis sed & cyrurgicis vtilissimum. ¶Venundantur Lugduni in vico Mercuriali sub intersignio Angeli. At the end, ¶Explicit compendium medicine Gilberti Anglici correctum et bene emendatum per dominum Michaelem de Capella artium et medicine doctorem: ac Lugduni Impressum per Jacobuȝ Saccon. expensis Vincentii de Portonarijs. Anno Domini. M.D. x. die vero vigesima mensis Nouembris. Deo Gratias. 8vo.

WILLIAM DU MONT.

This scholar is said to have been a native of Leicester, but, from the circumstance of his having opened a school of theology on the Mount of St. Geneviève at Paris, he was generally known by the name of William du Mont. He was the friend of Giraldus Cambrensis, and of most of the distinguished English scholars of his day. Giraldus attended his lectures in Paris, which must have been prior to 1172, when Giraldus returned to England. After William's return to England, the date of which is not known, he was appointed chancellor of the diocese of Lincoln, and he opened a school at Lincoln, which became as celebrated as that which he had left at Paris. He died in 1213, and was buried in Lincoln Cathedral.*

* See the Chronicle of Mailros, sub an. MCCXII.

The works of William du Mont are almost all on theological subjects, and are rather numerous, but none of sufficient importance to render it necessary to give their titles. He appears to have been profoundly skilled in that subtile method of teaching and arguing which had its head-quarters in the Parisian university, and which is considered one of the distinguishing characteristics of the scholastic divinity of the thirteenth century. Manuscripts of the writings of William du Mont occur not unfrequently in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, but none of them appear to have been printed.

WILLIAM THE TROUVERE.

A trouvère named William, who was certainly an ecclesiastic, although there appears no reason for identifying him with William the clerk, occurs in a manuscript in the British Museum (MS. Egerton, No. 612) as the author of a collection of miracles of the virgin and saints' legends in Anglo-Norman verse. The commencement of this work is unfortunately lost, or we should probably have known more of its author; who incidently informs us that, although commonly called William, his more proper name was "Adgar," which would lead us to believe him of Anglo-Saxon blood.

> Pur çeo ke l'en seit escriver,
> Qu'enz livre se deust numer
> Icil ki le livre translate,
> Par tant iert le livre sanz barate;
> Mut volentirs me numerai.
> Adgar ai nun, mès el i sai,
> Li plusur me apelent Williame;
> Bien le puent faire sang blasme,
> Kar par cel nun fui prime seinet,
> E puis par Adgar baptizet.

Pur çeo par raisun m'est avis,
Ke enz es nuns n'ai rien mespris,
Ne cil ki Willame me claiment.
Ore me apelgent quei ke nulz aiment.

William informs us that he translated his work from a Latin book in the almarie, or ambry, of St. Paul's church in London. It commences with a series of miracles of the Virgin Mary, among which are introduced the legend of Theophilus, (fol. 21, v°), and an account of the establishment of the Feast of the Conception of the Virgin, (fol. 39, r°), which had been treated at more length by Wace. At the commencement of the history of Theophilus*, which he confesses had been translated before, the author informs us that this work was not his only literary production.—

Meint bel sermun ai descrit,
Ci retruis un sens parfit,
Auctorizé e renumé.
Bien sai k'il ert ainȝ translaté ;
Mais pur çeo ke en present le truis,
Laisser ne dei, ne jo ne puis.
Cil ne l' seit ne unkes ne l' vit,
A qui jo faz icest escrit,
Ne li autre, si cum jo crei,
Ki cest livre enquierent de mei.
Pur çeo ne l' vuil mie laisser ;
Kar bel m'est si travailler,
Pur Deu servir e vus plaisir.

The latter part of the book is occupied with short legends of saints, among which appears that of Dunstan.

* The legend of Theophilus, which bears some analogy to that of Dr. Faustus, was very popular in the Middle Ages. Rutebeuf, in the thirteenth century, made it the subject of a miracle play in French. M. Jubinal, in the second volume of his edition of the works of Rutebeuf, has published a long French poem on the same subject by Gautier de Coinsy.

MINOR WRITERS

DURING THE REIGNS OF RICHARD I. AND JOHN.

The minor authors of this period whose names have come down to us are less numerous than might have been expected. Among the compilers of local histories we may mention Geoffrey of Coldingham, a monk of Durham, who about the beginning of the twelfth century was made sacrist of the priory of Coldingham in Scotland, a cell of Durham. Here he compiled a brief history of the church of Durham from 1152 to 1214, soon after which date he probably died. This history was first published by Henry Wharton,* but a more complete edition has been given by Mr. Raine in one of the publications of the Surtees Society.† Tanner conjectured that Geoffrey was the author of lives of Godric of Finchale and Bartholomew of Farne, preserved in one of the Fairfax manuscripts in the Bodleian library.

Girard of Cornwall (*Girardus Cornubiensis*) is a writer whose history is involved in much obscurity, and who has even been supposed by some to be the same person as Giraldus Cambrensis. The historian Rudbourn, printed in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, cites on several occasions the works of this writer *De gestis Britonum* and *De gestis regum Westsaxonum*. At the end of a manuscript of Higden's Polychronicon, in the library of Magdalene College, Oxford, the scribe has copied the history of Guy of Warwick from the eleventh chapter of Girardus Cornubiensis *De gestis regum Westsaxonum*, and from thence it was printed by Hearne in the Appendix to his edition of

* Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 718.

† Historiæ Dunelmensis Scriptores tres. 8vo. 1839.

the Annals of Dunstaple; but the original work is not now known to exist. It may be added that it is even doubtful at what period this writer lived.

NICHOLAS DE WALKINGTON, a monk of Kirkham in Yorkshire, was the author of brief narratives of the war between Henry I. and Louis le Gros of France, and of the famous battle of the Standard under king Stephen, preserved in MS. Cotton. Titus A. XIX. Bale ascribes to a person of this name a history of Walter Espec (perhaps the narrative of the Battle of the Standard, in which that baron was engaged), and a treatise *De virtutibus et vitiis*, and says that he flourished in 1193.

Two poets occur during this period, named MAURICE. One of them was a Welshman, the friend of Giraldus Cambrensis, who mentions him in terms of high commendation in the third distinction of his treatise *De institutione principis*. Bale ascribes to him *Epigrammata quædam, lib. i.*, and *Carmina et epistolæ, lib. i.* The other was MAURICE OF FORDE, a native of Somersetshire and monk of the house from which he takes his name. Leland says that he wrote a poem *De schemate pontificali*, dedicated to Reginald, bishop of Bath; and Bale ascribes to him also *Carminum lib. i.*

Another minor Latin poet appears to have flourished at this period, named JOHN DE ST. OMER, although he was a native of Norfolk. Some poet, of whose name we are ignorant, but who was probably a monk of Peterborough, had written a bitter rhyming satire upon the people of Norfolk. John de St. Omer took up the pen in defence of his native county, and composed his answer in the same kind of verse as that of the Peterborough

monk. The concluding lines, which contain all we know of our writer, will serve as a specimen of the style of both:—

Nolo cujuspiam iras incurrere,
Hoc solum audeo patenter dicere,
Nortfolchiensium cum sim de genere,
Decet me patriam meam defendere.
Qui me polluerit luto vel pulvere,
Licet ut audeam istud excutere,
Si quis quod scripserim vult reprehendere,
Scribat, et præsto sum illi rescribere.
Constare facio de meo nomine,
Sum Dei gratia dictus cognomine,
De Sancto nuncupor Omero, crimine
Me mundes deprecor tu autem, Domine.

The satirical *Descriptio Norfolciensium* commences with the account of an edict sent out by Cæsar to make a geographical survey of the globe, and to inquire the characters of each province:—

Exiit edictum quondam a Cæsare,
Qui mittens nuncios jussit describere
Omnes provincias, atque summopere
Quæ bonæ fuerint, quæ non, inquirere.

And proceeds to state that the imperial messengers, on their return, declared that the worst of all the provinces they had met with was the county of Norfolk. This poem occurs in several manuscripts, but we know of only one copy of John de St. Omer's *Norfolchiæ descriptionis impugnatio.**

Adam of Dore, abbot of Dore near Hereford, is only known as having written a metrical defence of the monks against the treatise of Giraldus Cambrensis, entitled *Speculum ecclesiæ,* which is now lost, but the epigrammatic replies by Giraldus himself and by Simon du Fresne are,

* Both are printed in a Collection by the author of the present volume, entitled, Early Mysteries and other Latin Poems of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, 8vo. London, 1838.

according to Tanner, preserved. Bale attributes to this writer a treatise entitled *Rudimenta musices.*

Another Adam, a Benedictine monk of Einesham in Oxfordshire, wrote an account of a vision of the pains of purgatory and hell and the joys of paradise, which appeared to a monk of his house, named Edmund, in the year 1196, which is found in a manuscript in the British Museum (MS. Cotton. Calig. A. viii) and in two manuscripts at Oxford.

Robert de Beaufey *(de Bellofoco sive Bellofago),* a canon of Salisbury, and friend of Giraldus Cambrensis, Walter Mapes, and other scholars of that age, is said to have written an *Encomium Topographiæ,* on the occasion of the pompous festival given by Giraldus when he read his *Topographia Hiberniæ* at Oxford. Bale also attributes to this writer a book entitled *Monita salubria;* and he is considered as the author of a poem in praise of ale *(Carmen de commendatione cerevisiæ),* which is found in a manuscript of the public library of the university of Cambridge, beginning with the line—

Eloquio dulci vernans et voce serena.

Alexander, said to have been known by the surname of Le Pargiter (the plasterer), made abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury in 1213, was a stanch adherent of king John in opposing the pretensions of the court of Rome, and was on that account excommunicated by the legate Pandulf, and, after the king's death, deprived of all his ecclesiastical preferments. He died in October, 1220, as we learn from Hoveden, and the Chronicles of St. Augustine's, and is said to have ended his life in great poverty. Bale gives as the titles of his writings, *Victoria*

a Prothæo, lib. i.; *Super variis articulis fidei*, lib. i.; *De ecclesiæ potestate*, lib. i.; *De potestate vicaria*, lib. i.; *De cessatione papali*, lib. i. But, as we have often had occasion to observe, Bale's statements must be taken with some degree of caution.

JOHN CUMYN (*Joannes Cumynus*), who appears to have been a monk of Evesham, was elected in 1172 archbishop of Dublin,* where in 1185 he held a council and read a discourse *De sacramentis ecclesiæ*, which, with some of his letters, is said to have been preserved in a manuscript in the collection of Petavius, and to have been seen there by Dempster.

JOHN ABBOT OF FORDE was a theological writer of some reputation at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries. He is said to have held the office of confessor to king John. We are unacquainted with the year of his death, but Leland tells us he was buried without much pomp in his abbey church. Among his theological writings Leland enumerates a hundred and twenty homilies, an *Expositio super Hieremiam*, a treatise *De contemptu mundi*, and a work *Super cantica canticorum*. The last of these works appears to have been nothing more than the homilies under another title; they are said to be preserved among the manuscripts of Balliol college, Oxford. His life of St. Wulfric, the hermit, dedicated in two separate epistles to Bartholomew bishop of Exeter, and to Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, is preserved in MS. Cotton. Faustina B. IV. A sermon by John of Forde is preserved in a manuscript in the Bodleian library.

* Giraldus Cambr. Expugn. Hibern. cc. 23—25.

Hugh de Nonant, an ecclesiastic who acted a prominent part in the political intrigues of the reign of Richard I., and who rendered himself remarkable for his bitter enmity to William de Longchamp, need only be mentioned as the author of a letter quoted by Roger de Hoveden and Radulph de Diceto, written in a rhetorical style, and giving an exulting account of the fall and banishment of that prelate. This letter is often found separately in manuscripts. Hugh de Nonant was made bishop of Lichfield in 1185, and died in Normandy in 1199.

Richard, an English abbot of the order of Prémontré, but of which house is not known, was the author of various theological treatises of no interest at the present day, some of which are preserved in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge. He is said also to have been the author of a life of St. Ursula; and Bale ascribes to him a chronicle from 1064 to 1284, which must be a mistake, as he is said to have flourished in 1190.

A diligent search might, perhaps, add a few insignificant names to the foregoing list, such as John of Tilbury, who is supposed to have written some sermons; Samson abbot of Bury, who wrote, it is said, a collection of the miracles of St. Edmund, the patron saint of his house, &c. John of Wallingford, abbot of St. Alban's, is described by Matthew Paris as a man of learning: but that historian does not ascribe to him any writings, and it is more than probable that the chronicle printed under his name by Gale, and other works which go under the same name, were the composition of a monkish writer who lived at a later period.

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The Anglo-Norman language has not hitherto been made the object of a particular study, and no grammar or dictionary has been published. The following list includes the few anonymous pieces in the Anglo-Norman of the twelfth century which have been printed.

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CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES

OF THE

LITERARY CHARACTERS NOTICED IN THIS AND THE PRECEDING VOLUME.

Vol. I.—Anglo-Saxon Period.

A. D.	
530—600.	Gildas.
	Nennius.
	St. Columbanus.
Died 709.	Wilfred.
690.	Benedict Biscop.
c. 680.	Cædmon.
704.	Adamnan.
705.	Haeddi, or Hedda.
709.	Aldhelm.
c. 718.	Egwin.
720.	Eddius Stephanus.
721.	John of Beverley.
716.	Ceolfrid.
729.	Egbert.
721.	Eadfrith.
726.	Tobias.
731.	Berctwald.
734.	Tatwine.
fl. 730.	Felix.
738.	Wilbrord.
735.	Bede.

A. D.

740. Acca,
732. Albinus,
739. Nothhelm,
745. Daniel,
740. Ethelwald,
after 737. Forthhere,
after 731. Hwetbert,
Plegwin,
Withred,
Cuthbert,

} the literary friends of Bede.

766. Egbert of York.
758. Cuthbert of Canterbury.
755. Boniface (Winfrid).
787. Willibald.
789. Willehad.
804. Alcuin.
763. Frithwald.
797. Ethelbert.
Ethelwolf.
Dicuil.
868. Swithun.
c. 877. Neot.
901. King Alfred.
910. Asser.
923. Plegmund.
915. Werferth.
897. Denewulf.
903. Grimbald.
John the "mass-priest."
877. Joannes Scotus.
Hucarius.
Ercombert.
Aldred the Glossator.

A. D.	
961.	Odo archbishop of Canterbury.
fl. 956.	Fridegode.
984.	Ethelwold.
988.	Dunstan.
992.	Oswald.
974.	Aio.
988.	Fulbertus.
	Bricstan.
fl. 980.	Lantfredus.
fl. 990.	Wolstan.
fl. 980.	Bridferth.
fl. 990.	Alfric of Malmsbury.
1006.	Alfric of Canterbury.
	Adalard.
1051.	Alfric Bata.
1008.	Cynewulf, or Kenulf.
1023.	Wulfstan.
fl. 1010.	Oswald, } minor writers.
1038.	Ethelnoth, } minor writers.
fl. 1020.	Haymo of York, } minor writers.
1054.	Haymo of Canterbury, } minor writers.
1047.	Withman.
fl. 1066.	Folchard.
1077.	Hereman.
1086.	Giso.
1098.	Gotselin.
fl. 1090.	Ethelward.
1095.	Wulstan.

Vol. II.—Anglo-Norman period.

A. D.

Died 1089. Lanfranc.
c. 1076. Guy bishop of Amiens.
fl. 1082. Gerland.
1095. Robert bishop of Hereford.
1096. William bishop of Durham.
1098. Osmund bishop of Salisbury.
1100. Thomas archbishop of York.
c. 1100. Osbern of Canterbury.
1109. Ingulf.
1107. Godfrey of Winchester.
fl. 1100. Lucian of Chester.
fl. 1102. Sæwulf.
1108. Gundulf.
1108. Gerard archbishop of York.

Minor Writers of the 11th century.

fl. 1082. Sulcard.
1096. Ricemarchus.
Hemming, sub-prior of Worcester.
Hamelinus of Verulam.
1113. Colman.
Alwin, or Ailwin.
1117. Faritius.
Leofric of Brun.
Warnier, or Garnier.
Johannes Grammaticus.

1109. Anselm.
1135. King Henry I.
fl. 1110. William of Chester.
1114. Gilbert Crispin.
1115. Turgot.

A. D.

1118. Florence of Worcester.
1119. Herebert bishop of Norwich.
fl. 1112. Reginald of Canterbury.
1124. Ernulph bishop of Rochester.
1124. Eadmer.
1134. Stephen Harding.
fl. 1120. Philip de Thaun.
fl. 1124. Roger Infans.
fl. 1125. Hilarius.
fl. 1120. Athelard of Bath.
fl. 1129. Simeon of Durham.
1134. Gilbert bishop of London (Universalis).
1137. Ailmer.

Minor writers of the reign of Henry I.

1122. Radulph bishop of Rochester.
1124. Nicholas prior of Worcester.
fl. 1120. Geoffrey of Landaff.
fl. 1120. Benedict of Gloucester.
fl. 1120. David bishop of Bangor.
1129. Gilbert archdeacon of Buckingham.
1146. Geoffrey abbot of St. Alban's.
1114. Thomas of Bayeux, archbishop of York.
1140. Thurstan, archbishop of York.
1112. Stephen of Whitby.

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after 1143. Ordericus Vitalis.
fl. 1143. Robert de Retines.
Turold.
Everard.
Helys of Winchester.
Samson de Nanteuil.
Guiscard or Guichard de Beaulieu.
fl. 1140. William of Malmsbury.

A. D.

1154. Geoffrey of Monmouth.
fl. 1148. Gaimar.
David.
fl. 1150. Alfred of Beverley.
fl. 1150. Osbern of Gloucester.
1154. Laurence of Durham.
c. 1154. Caradoc of Lancarvan.
after 1154. Henry of Huntingdon.
after 1154. William de Conches.
after 1155. Hugo Candidus.

Minor Writers under Stephen.

1151. Geoffrey of Burton.
fl. 1140. Robert of Salop.
fl. 1140. Nicholas of St. Alban's.
1146. William of Rievaux.
Richard of Worcester.

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fl. 1150. Robert le Poule.
fl. 1143. Richard of Hexham.
fl. 1170. John of Hexham.
fl. 1159. Robert of Cricklade.
1166. Ailred of Rievaux.
fl. 1165. Reginald of Durham.
1164. Hugh abbot of Reading.
1167. Robert de Melun, bishop of Hereford.
fl. 1168. William of Peterborough.
1170. Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.
after 1171. Wace.
fl. 1170. Radulph de Dunstable.
fl. 1170. William of St. Alban's.
fl. 1170. John of Cornwall.
fl. 1170. Gervase of Chichester.
fl. 1170. Roger of Hereford.

A. D.

fl. 1170. Alfred the Philosopher.
fl. 1174. Jordan Fantosme.
fl. 1175. Odo of Kent.
fl. 1175. Odo de Cirington.
fl. 1160. Roger of Salisbury.
fl. 1175. Daniel de Merlai.
1180. John of Salisbury:
1180. Adam du Petit Pont.
1184. Girard la Pucelle.
1186. Bartholomew bishop of Exeter.
fl. 1184. John de Hauteville.
fl. 1185. Jocelin of Furness.
fl. 1180. Benoit de Sainte-Maur.
fl. 1180. Clement of Lanthony.
fl. 1180. Robert of Bridlington.
fl. 1180. Herebert of Bosham.
1188. Gilbert Foliot.
1186. Robert Foliot.
1190. Ranulph de Glanville.
bef. 1195. Richard of Ely.
fl. 1174. Thomas of Ely.
Gervase of Tilbury.
1193. Richard bishop of London.
1190. Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury.
Walter Mapes.
Robert de Borron.
Luces de Gast.

Minor writers of the reign of Henry II.

Serlo.
Daniel Church.
fl. 1170. Thomas of Beverley.
Gualo.
Hugo Sotævagina.

A. D.

1177. Walter the Grammarian.
fl. 1180. Odo abbot of Muremund.
fl. 1185. William, the astronomer.
Richard abbot of Fountains.
Albericus de Vere.
fl. 1160. William de Wycumb.
Thomas of Monmouth.
Nicholas monk of Durham.
Osbert of Clare.
fl. 1160. Adalbert of Spalding.
Radulph monk of Westminster.
fl. 1170. Walter Daniel.
Samson monk of Canterbury.
fl. 1171. Robert of Glastonbury.
Henry of Saltrey.
1176. Laurence abbot of Westminster.
1180. Adam the Scot.
Roger of Forde.
fl. 1180. Walter, monk of St. Alban's.
fl. 1180. Philip prior of St. Frideswithe's.
1191. Adam abbot of Evesham.

1199. King Richard Cœur-de-Lion.
fl. 1175. Guernes du Pont de St. Maxence.
Bozun, or Boson.
Herman.
Hugh de Rutland.
Thomas.
Philip de Reimes.
Maurice and Peter de Craon.
Renaud de Hoilande.
Simon du Fresne.
fl. 1186. Nigellus Wireker.
1193. Benedict of Peterborough.

A. D.	
fl. 1192.	Richard of Devizes.
	William Fitz-Stephen.
1202.	Alan of Tewkesbury.
	Roger of Croyland.
after 1198.	Peter of Blois.
1223.	Giraldus Cambrensis.
	Geoffrey de Vinsauf.
	Joseph of Exeter.
b. 1136.	William of Newbury.
after 1201.	Roger de Hoveden.
fl. 1193.	John of Brompton.
	Radulph de Diceto.
fl. 1200.	Richard the Canon.
1207.	Walter de Coutances.
	Gulielmus Peregrinus.
	Hugh de Hoveden.
fl. 1174.	Gervase of Canterbury.
	Radulph Niger.
	William of Ramsey.
	William the Clerk.
	Thomas de Bailleul.
	Orm.
	Nicholas de Guildford.
	Layamon.
1228.	Stephen de Langton.
1228.	Gervase bishop of Seez.
1217.	Alexander Neckam.
fl. 1200.	Joscelin de Brakelonde.
fl. 1210.	Gilbertus Anglicus.
1213.	William du Mont.
	William the trouvere.

A. D.

Minor writers during the reigns of Richard I. and John.

fl. 1214. Geoffrey of Coldingham.
Girard of Cornwall.
fl. 1193. Nicholas de Walkington.
Maurice of Wales.
Maurice of Ford.
John de St. Omer.
Adam of Dore.
Adam of Einesham.
Robert de Beaufey.
1220. Alexander le Pargiter.
fl 1172. John Cumyn.
John abbot of Forde.
1199. Hugh de Nonant.
Richard the Prémonstrensian.
John of Tilbury.
Samson abbot of Bury.
John of Wallingford, abbot of St. Alban's.

INDEX.

FINIS.

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